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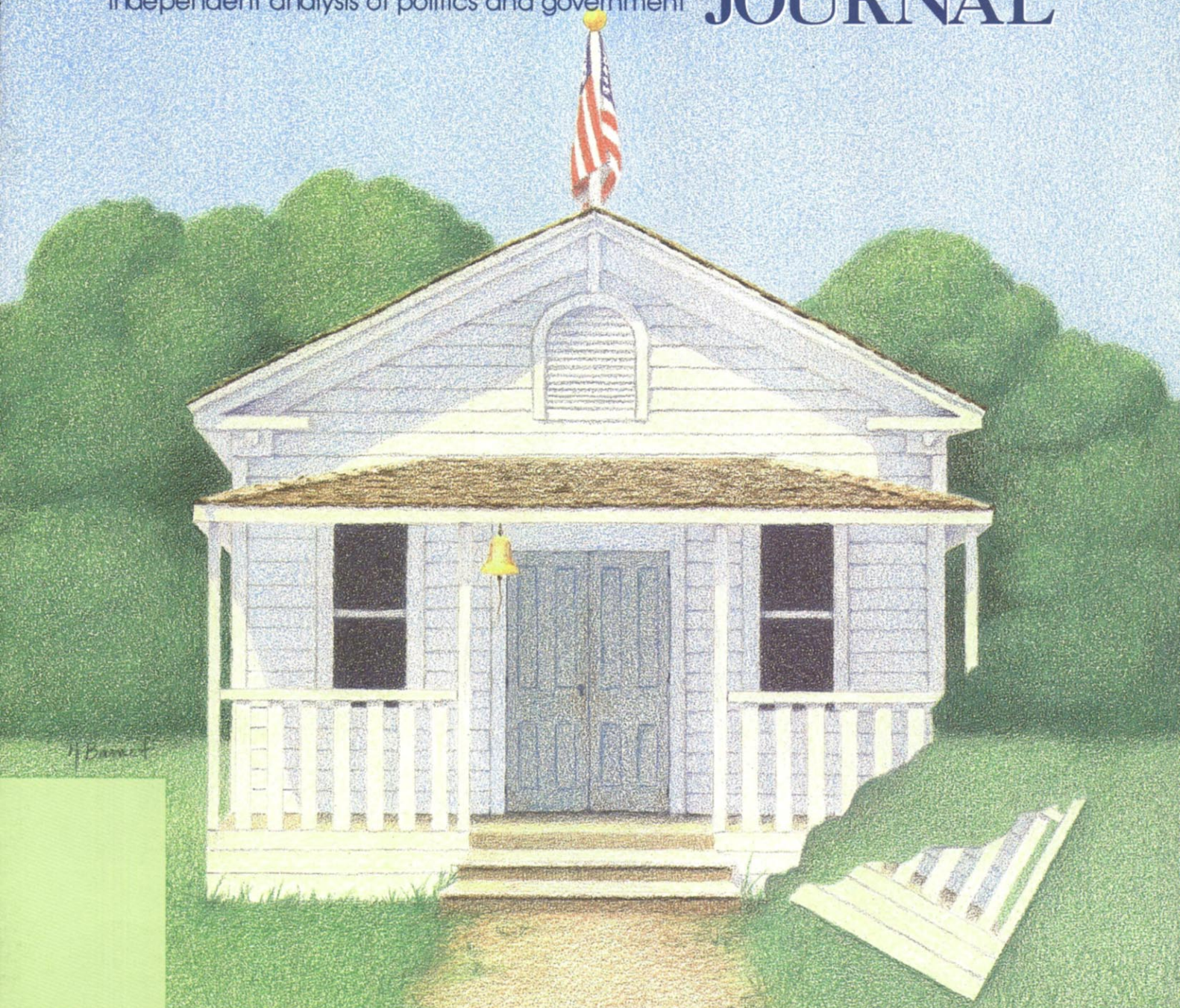
# California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government



## Education in California:
### the age of turmoil and hope

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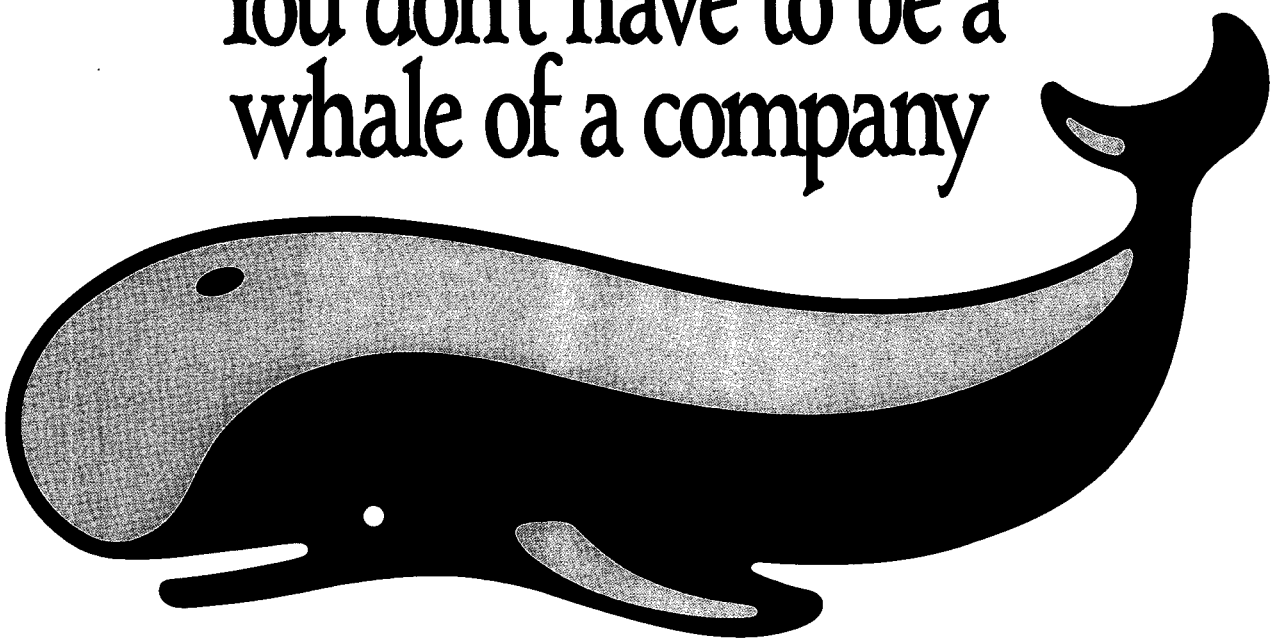

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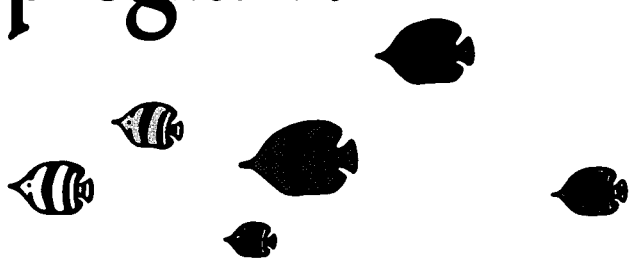

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JUNE 1993
VOLUME XXIV, NUMBER 6

# California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

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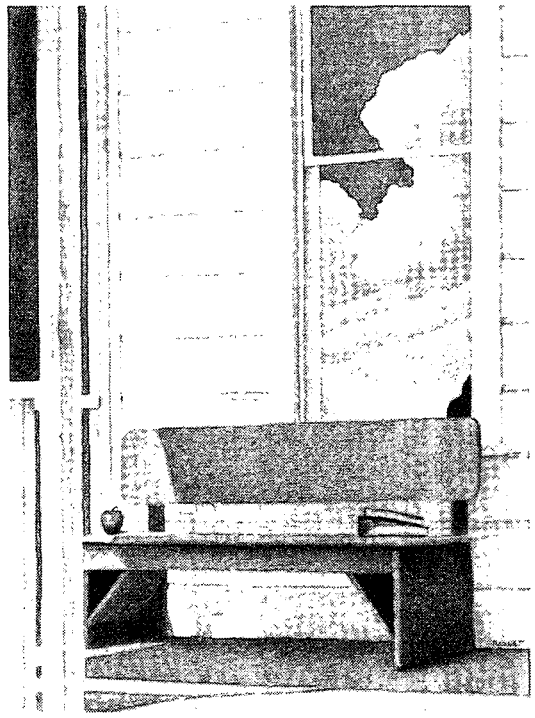

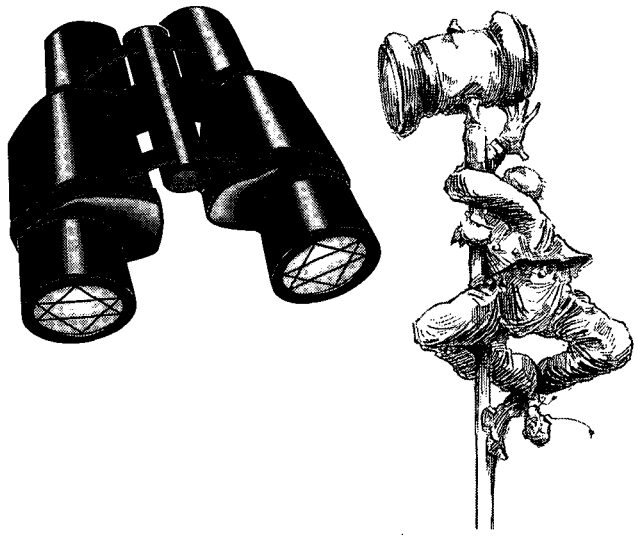

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# Up Front

**Gimme money.** Independent state Senator Quentin Kopp of San Francisco and Democratic Senator Henry Mello of Watsonville got into a little scuffle recently over Kopp's SCA 1 — a proposal to suspend lawmakers' pay in the event of another budget impasse. Mello complained that Kopp's effort hit "poorer" senators harder than it did the Senate's millionaires. "After all," Mello grumped, "not everyone has sued Elizabeth Taylor and won 4 million bucks." A fuming Kopp then "thanked" Mello for making confidential information a matter of public record. By the way, was Mello referring to himself as a "poor" senator?

**Poster child.** One of the sexier campaign posters in California history belonged to Libertarian cop-turned-call girl Norma Jean Almodovar, who ran for light guv back in 1986. The scantily-clad candidate was shown in high-cut boxer's shorts and a halter top that displayed her ample cleavage. The poster didn't help; Norma Jean finished some 3.8 million votes behind winner Leo McCarthy. Well, Norma Jean's back, not in politics but as an author. She's penned a biography tracing her metamorphasis from LA meter maid to prostitute to statewide pol. It's taken awhile for Norma Jean to publish her book because shortly after the '86 election, her *other* career got her arrested and packed off to jail.

**1-800-EARLY BIRD.** It's never too early to get a jump on the competition when you run for president. And given that the next presidential election season is only 31 months away, where else could former California Governor Jerry Brown be expending energy but — you guessed it — New Hampshire? Brown's beaming face recently graced most of the front page of the *Concord Monitor* after he trekked to the Granite State to testify before a legislative committee in support of term limits (Jerry Brown incarnation CLXXXIV). And lest you think Brown's efforts are a teensy bit premature, remember that the former guv has a long way to go to improve on his dismal fifth-place showing in the 1992 New Hampshire primary. If he keeps up this pace, by 1996 he will have been in New Hampshire long enough, and often enough, to earn "favorite son" status. Not that Brown is alone in New Hampshire. GOP Senators Robert Dole of Kansas and Phil Gramm of Texas also have paid discrete visits "to discuss the president's economic policies." Uh-huh.

**Charity begins in caucus.** Speaker Willie Brown Jr. recently followed what has become tradition around the Capitol: appointing loyal minions to a high-pay, low-work job in state government. The latest recipient of Brown's philanthropy was former Assemblyman Tom Bane, who decided not to seek re-election in 1992 after a 24-year legislative career. The speaker named the Tarzana Democrat to the Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board — at a cool $92,465 a year. He will fill out the term of another Brown ally — former San Francisco Mayor and former Assemblyman Art Agnos, who recently resigned from the board in anticipation of a regional appointment in the Clinton administration. Fear not, those of you who worry that the job is too taxing for Bane, who turns 80 in December. The board gathers together every Tuesday at 10:30 a.m., but meetings usually are over by noon. Not that Democrats like Bane are the only cronies to land cushy jobs. Shortly before he left office, former Republican Governor George Deukmejian placed his chief of staff, Michael Frost, and his director of finance, Jesse Huff, on the Integrated Waste Management Board — also at $92,465 a year.

**Reform? Yuk.** So, the above item outraged you, did it? You may rest easier in the knowledge that at least one lawmaker, Democratic Senator Mike Thompson of St. Helena, is trying to do something about it. Thompson's SB 82 would prohibit members of boards and commissions from being paid more than a legislator ($52,500 in base pay). Yeah, well, don't rest too easy: Thompson's effort mustered only 17 votes in its first floor test in the Senate. Although the author was granted reconsideration, don't hold your breath. After all, in this era of term limits, senators never know if one day ... .

**Pete and the PTnAy.** Last month, Governor Pete Wilson found time in his busy schedule to frolic in Capitol Park with actor Arnold Schwarzenegger and other celebrity jocks at the Great California Workout. But two days later, when the state PTA convention gathered in Sacramento, all the time slots on the guv's calendar apparently were full. So rather than walk a hundred paces or so from his office to the Capitol's west steps to address a PTA rally, Wilson sent his regrets — a move that didn't sit well with conventioneers. But, hey, who can blame the guv? It's fun to shine up to the likes of boxing champ Sugar Ray Leonard and Olympic star Summer Sanders — a zillion times more fun than standing before a park full of education mavens to explain why there isn't any money for education.

*"Something will have gone out of us as a people if we ever let the remaining wilderness be destroyed ...because it was the challenge against which our character as a people was formed. It may be the love of wilderness that finally teaches us civilized responsibility."*
—Wallace Stegner

*Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smartalecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the* Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*


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# Rostrum
## LETTERS

**LA mayor**

I am writing to clarify a factual error which appeared in your article on the Los Angeles mayoral race (see "The crowded race for mayor," *CJ*, March 1993). In that article, it was reported that I had announced my candidacy for mayor, then withdrew. To set the record straight, I *never* announced that I would run for mayor of Los Angeles. In fact, the only announcement I made was to say that I was *not* running for mayor.

RICHARD ALATORRE
Los Angeles City Council

**Realpolitik**

While it may be that Assemblyman Ray Haynes bill to require high school students to be taught and tested on the Declaration of Independence, the federal Constitution and the "Federalist Papers" (see Up Front, *CJ*, April 1993) is not sufficient in and of itself to cure political cynicism, it is clear that you need a refresher course on the documents themselves. To characterize the "Federalist Papers" as idealistic bromides suggests that you haven't read them lately. Your list of current political horrors (legislative ethics, conflicts of interests, perks) are discussed in Federalist 10, 31 and 33 — among others. These horrors were not invented in the late 20th Century but have existed and been known to political observers since humankind first created government. Moreover, the authors of those documents not only recognized the problems but suggested solutions, many of which are still relevant. I cannot think of many writings that are more *realpolitik* than "The Federalist."

ROSS S. CLARK
Twin Peaks

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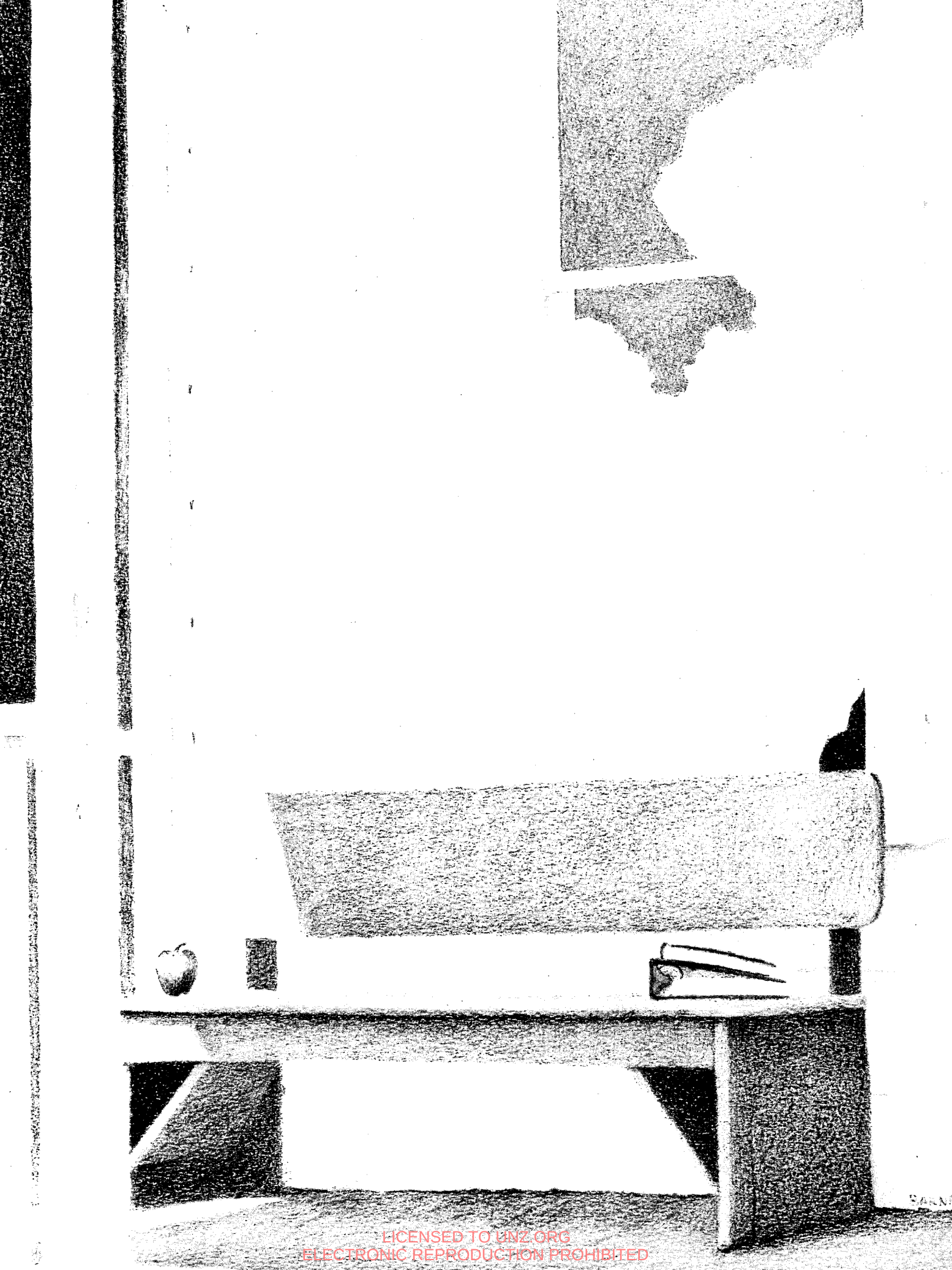

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# Education in California:

## *The age of turmoil and hope*

For Susan Kolch, principal of Mark Hopkins Elementary School in south Sacramento, the day began at 3:30 a.m. with a phone call from the school's alarm company. A window had been broken in one of the offices of the urban, inner-city school. Not much was taken — just a few odd personal items — and when Kolch arrived later that morning to greet a guest, the incident merited little more than a brief conversation with the plant manager. Petty vandalism is the least of her worries.

Superficially, Mark Hopkins Elementary looks for all the world like the schools most Californians attended in their youth. Upon closer examination, however, Mark Hopkins offers a good look at the mosaic of challenge and opportunity that faces California's public education system in the 1990s. Four years ago, when Kolch became principal, the school was predominantly African-American. Now, its student body is 45 percent Southeast Asian, and about a third are Black. Nearly half of the 675 students speak a language at home other than English. Virtually all are from low-income families, and many are on Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The "street mentality" of the surrounding neighborhood is a reality, and its influence can be seen in the clothing, language, and attitude of some of the students.

"There are days," says Kolch, "when social concerns are all that I deal with."

Among the tools she and her 30-member teaching staff use in an effort to push against these influences is a philosophy known as "efficacy." Basically, efficacy advocates believe the process of developing intelligence is learned, and that *every* child can and will learn, given the right circumstances.

Creating those circumstances is the job of the public education system, and the efficacy of that system remains a national concern 10 years after the bombshell report, "A Nation at Risk." A recent *Parade* Magazine survey showed that almost two-thirds of Americans believe public education is doing a fair or poor job. Only 5 percent said American schools are better than their counterparts in Germany or Japan. Here in California, despite passage of both a major school-reform plan (SB 813 in 1983) and a major funding initiative (Proposition 98 in 1988), educational quality remains at the center of much of our public policy debate, as indicated by the gathering controversy surrounding private school vouchers (see story, page 13).

And yet, education leaders across the spectrum say the good news about California schools is that there *is* some good news. Fewer children are dropping out of high school than did during the 1980s. More college-bound seniors are taking the Scholastic Aptitude Test and advanced placement tests. And every day, students, teachers and administrators at all levels are stretching the limits of their own creativity and ability. The

**By Laura A. Locke and Steve Scott**



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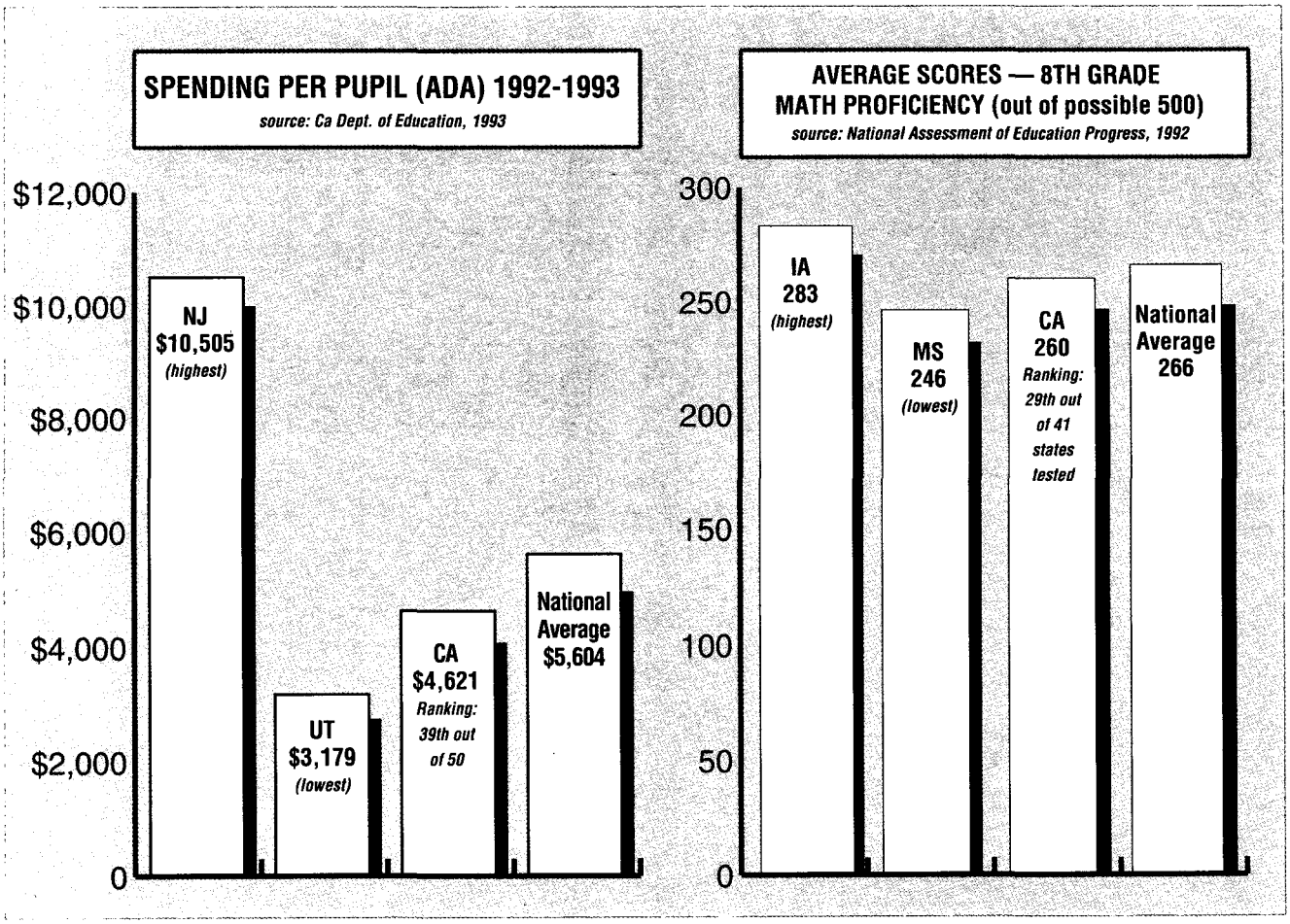


story of education in California is one of challenge, reality, frustration and hope.

In California, maintaining educational efficacy sometimes seems like an almost Sisyphean struggle. Explosive population growth has caused school enrollment to swell at a rate of 650 students a day. Total enrollment tops five million — equal to the total combined enrollments of 20 other states. But it's not just that there are a lot of kids. One out of every five students is limited-English proficient; one out of every four in K-6. There are only about 8000 teachers in the state trained to deal with these students, roughly one-third the number many education experts say are needed.

"In California, resources have been eroded by the increasing diversity of the school population," says Diane Massell, a researcher with the New Jersey-based Consortium on Policy Research in Education. "[This population] requires special services."

Teaching English is not the only hurdle facing the modern public school. The intrusion of gangs, guns and drugs into the school system has made the very safety of students and teachers a front-burner issue in contract talks as well as in legislative debates (see story, page 27). Additional pressure is created by broader societal changes: the rise of two-income parents, single parents, child abuse, parental neglect and poverty, to name a few.

Down at the grass-roots, these changes have forced educators and administrators to expand their mandates far beyond "the three Rs." During a six-hour period at Mark Hopkins Elementary, principal Kolch found herself in the role of educator, disciplinarian, surrogate parent, social worker, child-abuse counselor, immigration counselor, missing person detective, and, when a teacher nearly choked in the lunchroom, school nurse.

For Kolch, this expanded role is simply a fact of life.

"[The schools] have to assume a lot of these responsibilities," she says. "It's not a question of whether it's right or wrong. It's simply a part of the total educational environment."

"We have to educate every child that comes



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to our door — legal, illegal, impoverished, wealthy — as is," says Davis Campbell, executive director of the California School Boards Association. "We don't have a junk heap, like the private schools."

While the problems seem most intractable in urban districts such as Sacramento City or Los Angeles Unified, suburban schools are no longer safe havens either.

"Even in Beverly Hills, 40 percent of the kids are living in single parent families," says Assemblywoman Delaine Eastin, a Fremont Democrat and head of the Assembly Education Committee.

For many children (and their families), the difficulties of life at home have made school more than a place to learn. For some, it becomes an oasis of stability in their lives. "I have children who don't want to go home when they're sick," says Mark Hopkins teacher Trina McLaughlin.

In a perfect world, schools would meet this expanded mandate with counselors, special-education teachers, resource teachers, parent education programs and strong parent-teacher associations. But one look at the bottom line tells the story — it's not a perfect world.

Sooner or later, just about any conversation about public schools winds up being a conversation about money. Last year, K-12 spending at all levels topped $27 billion, far more total dollars than are spent by any other state. Spending has more than doubled since 1983, and per-pupil spending has increased by nearly two-thirds. Even when adjusted for inflation, per-pupil spending is still up about 13 percent over 1983. State government expenditures on education alone in California are larger than the entire budgets of more than half the states in the nation.

"The biggest [misconception] is that somehow the state is not keeping up its effort monetarily on schools," says Maureen DiMarco, Governor Pete Wilson's secretary for Child Development and Education. "It is truly near the top in the country."

Yet, even DiMarco is quick to concede that this investment doesn't put schools "anywhere near where we ought to be." While up over 1983 totals, per-pupil spending has declined in real terms each of the last four years. Current per-pupil spending ranks 39th in the nation — roughly $4600 per child. That's $1000 below the national average and more than $4000 below that of New York, the state most comparable to California in population size and ethnic diversity.

How is this possible? How can the state spend so much, yet compare so poorly with the rest of the nation in what it spends in the classroom? The answer lies less in the amount of money spent than where it comes from. Since passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, local property taxes have accounted for only about a quarter of the total spending pie for schools. No other state in the nation relies that heavily on the state to fund its schools. In the 15 years before Proposition 13 passed, California dipped below the national average in per-student spending only twice. Since 1978, however, there have been only two years in which the national average was exceeded.

> We have to educate every child that comes to our door — legal, illegal, impoverished, wealthy — as is. We don't have a junk heap, like the private schools.
> —*Davis Campbell*

"Prop. 13, I think, makes it almost impossible to reverse the fall," says Stanford Professor Michael Kirst, co-director of Policy Analysis for California Education, an educational think-tank based at Stanford and UC-Berkeley. "The state doesn't have enough money, and you can't get to the local property tax base because of Prop. 13."

At the classroom level, the impact of tight school budgets can be seen in a thousand compromises large and small. Eastin, who is considered a likely candidate for state superintendent of public instruction, routinely recites a litany of malaise: "Buckets on the floors during rainy weather ... class sizes of 35 to 40 kids ... science textbooks which still say 'someday man will go to the moon.'" The term "portable," used to describe the wood-frame classrooms on nearly every campus, has become almost laughably obsolete — those "temporary" classrooms aren't going anywhere.

"Twenty years ago, we would not have been in such destitute straits that we could not afford to put a book in the hands of every school kid in every subject that they could take home to do their homework," says Del Weber, president of the California Teachers Association. "We can't do that today."

Many argue that Weber's constituents, public-school teachers, have been among the few beneficiaries of the current school funding system. Average teacher salaries in California are seventh highest in the nation, or between $35,000 and $40,000. Weber insists the national ranking is deceptive, since California's cost of living is the highest in the nation. Yet, critics still claim that the politically influential CTA and its competitor, the California Federation of Teachers, have contributed to the decline in resources with their dogged advocacy of teacher pay above all else.

"They've been cannibalizing other kids' programs for the sake of saving their own," says Steve Barrow, director of the Children's Advocacy Institute.

The public back-and-forth over teacher


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salaries is only one of many areas in which the public school system has become a focus of political controversy. Just as it has in other areas of society, the debate over educating children has been given over to a legislative world filled with simplistic orthodoxies, partisan wrangles and bureaucratic intransigence.

Prior to the 1970s, most of the political activity surrounding schools took place in local school boards. School board meetings were where budget decisions were made, salary agreements ratified, and battles between teachers, parents and the administration settled.

In the 1970s, however, two events combined to radically shift the balance of authority in school policy — a series of court decisions in the case of *Serrano vs. Priest*, which required that school funding be roughly equal among districts where property tax rates were equal (see story, page 17), and the 1978 passage of Proposition 13.

With local boards restricted both in how much they could raise and where they could spend it, the job of funding schools fell largely to the state general fund, controlled by the governor and the state Legislature. It wasn't long before Sacramento became "ground zero" for education battles in California. During the mid- to late-'80s, funding disputes between Governor George Deukmejian and state Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig were as predictable as the return of swallows to Capistrano. In that same period, the CTA became one of the largest PAC contributors to legislative political campaigns. In 1984 increased funding for schools became the chief selling point that helped win approval of a state lottery. And in 1988 voters narrowly approved Proposition 98, an initiative that purported to guarantee that at least 40 percent of the state's general fund would go to public schools, including community colleges.

The impact that Proposition 98 has had on school budgets is a matter of some debate. Deukmejian routinely assailed it for creating what he termed "autopilot budgeting." Other education leaders, however, are less energetic either in support or in opposition.

"It's essentially a non-issue," says PACE's Kirst. "Forty percent of nothing is still nothing."

While its actual fiscal effect may be in doubt, Proposition 98's effect upon the political debate in education is beyond dispute. With the souring of the state's economy and the arrival of three straight years with multibillion dollar deficits, protection of Proposition 98 has become a litmus test of political support for schools. Legislators who had opposed the initiative in 1988 were signing pledges to protect it in 1992. And education-related organizations that were barely on speaking terms, such as the CTA and the California School Boards Association, banded together around the banner of Proposition 98, creating one of the Legislature's most formidable lobbying coalitions.

**Given the level of investment that we are making, we're not doing a very bad job. Our kids are performing somewhat better than our level of investment.**

***— Delaine Eastin***

The education skirmishes of the past two years may have been the bitterest ever. Last year's 64-day budget delay was driven, in large measure, by a dispute over whether schools would receive as much money per-student as they had the previous year. Governor Wilson was targeted for an unprecedented off-year television campaign, accusing him of trying to keep children from entering kindergarten. This year, the battle over school funding was at the center of an angry fight over confirmation of GOP Senator Marian Bergeson to replace Honig, who was convicted this year on conflict-of-interest charges. Honig's conviction itself was a source of controversy, as education advocates charged that Attorney General Dan Lungren's prosecution was a political vendetta against the once-popular schools chief.

At the local classroom level, the wrangling over Proposition 98 evokes a mixed response. While nearly all working in education decry the lack of money in the system, if you ask principal Kolch what really gets under her skin, another word springs immediately — and bitterly — from her lips.

"Bureaucracy."

According to Kolch, and any number of other education experts, there are way too many restrictions even on the limited number of dollars currently available to schools. Categorical programs, special education programs, federal matching funds, standardized tests all require that the school fill out forms, make reports and spend a lot of time doing something other than teaching. "My resource teacher is essentially a half-time clerk," says Kolch.

"The state has cut off all the bottom-up initiative," says Kirst, "and it has leveled everybody's schooling virtually to the lowest common denominator."

While there is broad public agreement about the obtrusiveness of bureaucracy, change has proven difficult. When the Association of California School Administrators sought mandate relief legislation, officials with the organization claim to have run into a brick wall at the state department of Education. "We couldn't even get the Department to tell us where those mandates are found in the education code," says ACSA's Wells.

It's easy to look at the picture painted thus far and see a landscape of desperation and power-


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lessness. Explosive growth, shrinking budgets, intractable politics, meddling bureaucracies. And yet, even the harshest critic of education will concede that there are silver linings in the clouds. And many advocates insist that not only is the news not all bad, but there is more than a little reason to be optimistic about the future.

When the National Commission on Excellence in Education released "A Nation at Risk" in April 1983, it fired a shot across the country's educational bow, with its warning of "a rising tide of mediocrity" in public schools. The alarmist message hit the collective gut of the media, government and educators.

"They accurately pointed out that schools were not very challenging places," said Diane Massell with the Consortium on Policy Research in Education. "Nobody was thinking about the core curriculum."

Well, almost nobody. In January 1983 — four months *before* "A Nation at Risk" — a dramatic education reform effort was launched by a new face in Sacramento: newly elected schools chief Bill Honig. Honig's reforms, many of which were embodied in Senate Bill 813, focused on five basic components: a "meaning-based" curriculum; intelligent assessment; teacher training; modernized textbooks; and increased parent involvement.

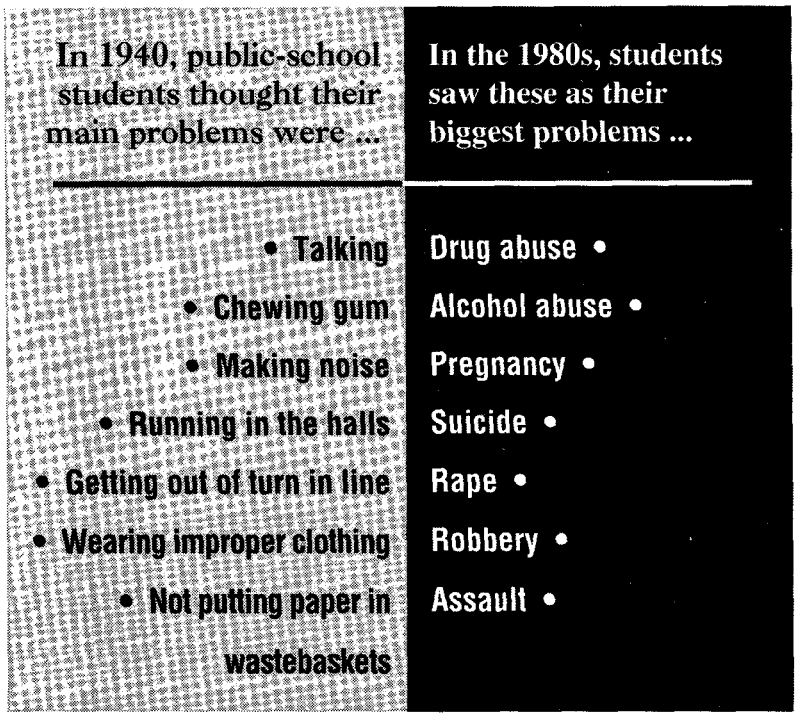
Honig pressed his "reform movement" at every opportunity, and 10 years later points with pride to some notable successes:

- The number of high school seniors taking the SAT has increased 14 percent, and despite the increased pool of scores, math scores are above the national average (verbal scores continue to lag);
- From 1985-1991, the number of high school graduates qualifying for admission to the University of California jumped 30 percent;
- The school year has lengthened over time by 17.3 school days;
- The high-school dropout rate — once a national scandal — still exceeds the national average, but has declined by 27 percent since 1986.

These results made Honig a coveted speaker at national education conferences, but you're never a hero in your own home town. "[There was always] hostile political leadership," says the former superintendent. "I never had a governor that said 'You're on the right track; we're going to help you.'" Political hostility was accompanied by the bleak fiscal realities, which siphoned off much of the staff development and special education money considered key to making a difference.

"We know that what we think works, actually *works*," says ACSA's Wells. "We feel now that [the reform movement] was just a tease."

And yet, California educators insist neither they nor the public are yet ready to divest entirely from the public school system. The


In 1940, public-school students thought their main problems were ...
• Talking
• Chewing gum
• Making noise
• Running in the halls
• Getting out of turn in line
• Wearing improper clothing
• Not putting paper in wastebaskets
In the 1980s, students saw these as their biggest problems ...
Drug abuse •
Alcohol abuse •
Pregnancy •
Suicide •
Rape •
Robbery •
Assault •

*Source: CA Department of Education*

*Parade* survey cited above didn't ask people what they thought of their own child's school, but if California surveys are any indication, the reaction might have been similar to that for Congress: The system stinks, but mine is okay.

"It's become conventional wisdom that the public school system is a disaster," says CSBA's Davis Campbell. "We've got to get out of the disaster rhetoric because it's not helpful."

"Given the level of investment that we are making, we're not doing a very bad job," says Eastin. "Our kids are performing somewhat better than our level of investment."

The key to the future, most leaders say, is in maintaining a public-school ethic that they argue is an integral part of the social compact in a democratic society. Honig believes that this ethic is central to creating "the superior worker, the active citizen, and the fulfilled individual."

"Society has a stake in getting democratic values in kids, whether the family wants it or not, and whether the kids want it or not," says Honig. "Our existence as a democracy depends on getting a critical mass of people believing in democratic ideals, and that's really not negotiable. It's not selling soap."



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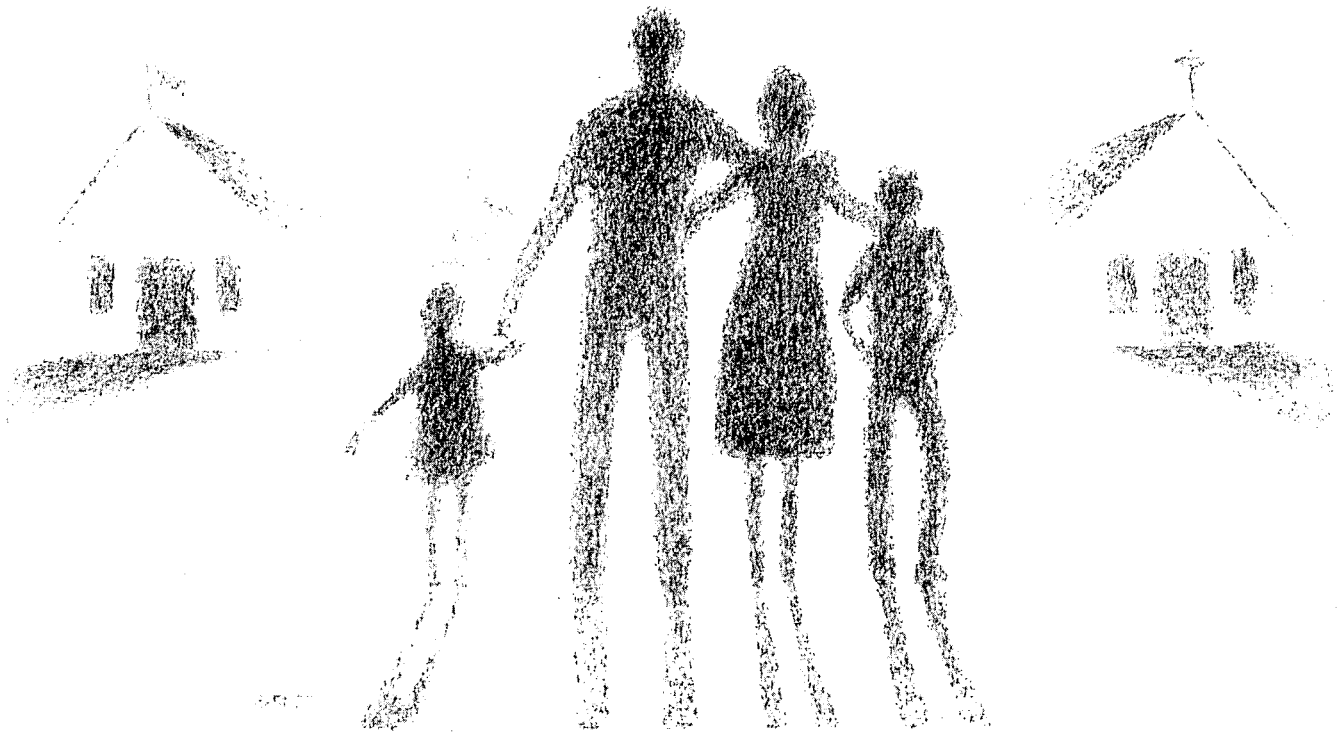

illustration by Nancy Barnet

# The issue of "choice"

## *A voucher initiative goes before voters*

"Choice" is *the* sexy buzzword in education today and will continue to be for at least the next six months, until voters decide the fate of a ballot initiative on whether public money should be available to fund private and religious schools. Expect to be tempted and titillated by this monosyllabic catch-all term as it's bandied about during the inevitable election fervor surrounding the voucher initiative — Parental Choice in Education — that has qualified for the ballot and will be decided upon in a special statewide election called by Governor Pete Wilson for November 1993.

But don't be lulled by the easy labels. "Choice" simplifies a complex, convoluted issue that attempts to capitalize on the democratic ideals of individual responsibility, freedom and decision-making.

Basically, the Parental Choice in Education initiative would, if passed by voters, provide all resident school-age children in the state with a $2600 "voucher" or "scholarship," which may be redeemed by the child's parents at any participating public, private or religious school.

"Choice," of course, sounds appealing. Why shouldn't parents have the right to choose the most appropriate school for their children to attend?

According to those who support the proposal, the nation's public school system is monopolistic, archaic, inefficient, prevents competition and is bereft of incentive for innovation and improvement. Unrestricted school choice is the best method for restructuring the public school system, proponents argue, because it restores performance and accountability. Those schools that don't meet the needs of their students, that don't deliver a quality educational product, will simply lose students to competitors and go out of business.

"What we are attempting to do is to empower the parents, so they have power to go to the principal directly, to create the kind of atmosphere where schools have to be responsive to their customers," said Joseph Alibrandi, co-chairman of EXCEL, Choice in Education League — the organization behind the state-

**By Laura A. Locke**



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**The intent is to put in place the incentives for public schools to improve**
***—Kevin Teasley***

wide voucher initiative. "Why should poor people not have the power or opportunity to choose the education of their child just like the wealthy people do?" Alibrandi asked.

Kevin Teasley, EXCEL vice chairman and campaign director, likens the nation's public school system to the another much-maligned government bureaucracy, the U.S. Postal Service, which didn't offer next-day delivery until it had keen competition from Federal Express and other air-freight delivery companies.

"The intent is to put in place the incentives for public schools to improve," Teasley said. And, he added, it's already happening. He noted that Fresno Unified School District is starting a pilot program to allow middle school students to apply for admission to the school of their choice. And last year, San Francisco Unified introduced theme schools — schools organized around a common theme such as a parent-participation school where parents are directly involved in planning the budget and curriculum. Currently, San Francisco has about 25 such schools in its 113-school district, and school officials say they hope eventually to convert all schools to theme status. Teasley said these recent public-school choice efforts have surfaced precisely because parental choice is on the June 1994 ballot.

Teasley said that statewide, public schools aren't working very well. He points out that California has the seventh-highest dropout rate in the country, and the state ranks 33rd in SAT scores. "Imagine schools fighting for the right to keep kids," said Teasley.

Voucher opponents, however, are convinced that this will be the demise of California public education as we know it.

"It will absolutely destroy public education, and it will certainly destroy the funding of public education in California," said Grace Foster, a PTA member who recently sat on a voucher panel at the PTA annual convention in Sacramento.

Opponents argue that the initiative contains no provisions to improve the public-school system, educational home to more than 90 percent of all California students. More than that, the voucher system ultimately will siphon $1.5 billion out of the state budget and give that money to private and religious schools because every student now in a private or religious school will be eligible for a voucher two years after the initiative is enacted. Yet, opponents argue, these same private schools are not subject to state regulation. If the initiative passes, there is concern that the initiative will not stand up in court because it may violate the California Constitution, Article IX, Section 8: No public money shall be appropriated to any school not under the exclusive control of the officers of the public schools. In addition, some critics wonder if the fact that public money pays for a religious school's tuition violates constitutional provisions for the separation of church and state.

Opponents also charge that the initiative's voucher system effectively sanctions discrimination. Public schools have to admit every student that lives within district boundaries; they can't reject students who may pose disciplinary problems, who have learning disabilities or who are poor. The public education system was designed to educate all students regardless of their economic, social, religious or ethnic background. The original purpose was to provide equal opportunity for all citizens and to infuse common democratic values, morals and ethics.

"Public schools take all comers. We'll take them and we'll help them become the best they can become. The fact that we're open to everyone is a huge difference [compared] to the private school system," said Bob Wells, director of government relations for the Association of California School Administrators.

On the other hand, private schools are not regulated, and there is no provision in the initiative that prohibits discrimination on the basis of gender, religion or academic ability. "There are no standards on what they teach or who they hire to teach it. Any entrepreneur that can get 25 students together can open a school and hire anybody to teach anything," Wells said.

Alibrandi counters that, in a private school, the criteria for a good teacher is: Does the teacher know the subject? If the student isn't learning, then parents will fire the teacher. The difference in a public school, Alibrandi said, is if a kid graduates and can't read, the teacher isn't fired.

But Wells warned that the initiative "isn't choice for parents, it's choice for private schools because it allows schools to choose which students they will admit. We don't usually set up tax-supported programs that discriminate based on income status. You can set up some very exclusive private schools that would be subsidized by tax revenues, and the voters wouldn't be able to do anything about it."

The school choice battle is expected to be fierce. Opponents started gearing up four months ago. In late March, the *Los Angeles Times* conducted a poll of 1294 people on the voucher, and the results were 41 percent in support and 51 percent opposed.

Not unexpectedly, seven major educational


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organizations have joined forces to squelch the voucher initiative; after all, hundreds of thousands of jobs are at stake here. The umbrella organization is called The Committee to Educate Against Vouchers, and participating members all have economic interests in maintaining public schools: the California School Boards Association, California Teachers Association, California Federation of Teachers, Association of California School Administrators, California School Employees Association, Service Employees Association, and the California PTA. Rick Manter, executive vice president of the Nelson Communications Group, is managing the anti-voucher campaign. To date, he said the strategy has been to raise a war chest — millions of dollars strong — identify local leaders for field units, and continue working at the grass-roots level. He's confident that the voucher will be defeated after a protracted fight.

"Conservatives, moderates and liberals aren't willing to give up public education," he said.

Manter said his opponent's campaign has yet to click. "They haven't caught fire at all," he said. They have no statewide presence and have yet to hire a consultant, adding that, all issues aside, his group won't have any trouble raising the money needed to wage an all-out, statewide battle. He indicated that his opponents might. "When you start out even or behind, you can't afford to be handicapped," he said.

Currently, EXCEL seems underfunded and less organized than the anti-voucher troops — a disadvantage exacerbated when Wilson called a special election for this fall. EXCEL's Teasley admitted that EXCEL will trail behind the Committee to Educate Against Vouchers when it comes to raising money, and that this will continue throughout the campaign. But "truth-wise, he said, anti-voucher forces "can't hold a candle to us."

Alibrandi said his side's efforts include debates, and a speaker's bureau. "It's going to be one big fight on our hands ... We're ready for it," he said. He acknowledged that EXCEL is facing a tough opponent. Alibrandi said his side will rely on media as much as possible, including radio talk shows. EXCEL has raised over $1 million so far and needs to raise five to six times as much.

EXCEL supporters include former U.S. Secretary of Education William Bennett; John Chubb, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution; Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman; and J. Clayburn La Force, dean of the Anderson Graduate School of Management at UCLA.

Despite the early leading edge for voucher opponents, Wells, of the Association of California School Administrators, said, "This is serious enough that we can't take it for granted that it will go away. ...We think this is so dangerous that we really want to drive a stake in it."

Public discussion on the initiative already is percolating. The Hoover Institution, a conservative think tank at Stanford University, recently held a conference on "Choice and Vouchers: The Future of American Education." The conference was largely attended by proponents of choice. Hoover Fellow Friedman said that over the past 40 years, total spending for education (using adjusted dollars for inflation) has tripled while performance has declined. Friedman called the school system the "government school system" as opposed to the "public school system" because, he said, it no longer serves the public's needs.

The United States has approximately 83,000 public schools and per-capita expenditure is approximately $6000 per year. California ranks 39th in the nation with a per-capita expenditure of about $4600.

Meanwhile, Wilson's decision to call a special statewide election this November moved the voucher initiative off the June 1994 primary ballot, where it would have shared the spotlight with none other than Pete Wilson himself, who will be seeking re-election. It also would have shared the limelight with the election for superintendent of public instruction — a contest expected to be intimately tied to the voucher campaign. Wilson has not as yet announced a position on the initiative.

Ostensibly, Wilson called the special election to allow voters to decide whether to raise county sales taxes. The choice initiative and four legislative proposals were added to the mix because they had qualified for statewide ballot, and the state constitution mandates that they be placed before voters at the first opportunity. One of the legislative measures would allow school-bond proposals to pass with a simple, rather than two-thirds, majority.

Pro-voucher forces put up a brave front after Wilson's announcement, saying they were ready for the campaign. But private sources suggest that proponents are in some disarray, with little coordination between EXCEL's efforts and those of its prime ally — Parents for Educational Choice. Proponents only hired professional campaign help in mid-May — *after* Wilson called the special election. The initiative's well-heeled opponents, however, were pleased with the earlier date. "The sooner the election," said Rick Manter, "the more difficult it will be for [EXCEL]."

## It will absolutely destroy public education, and it will certainly destroy the funding of public education in California

*—Grace Foster*



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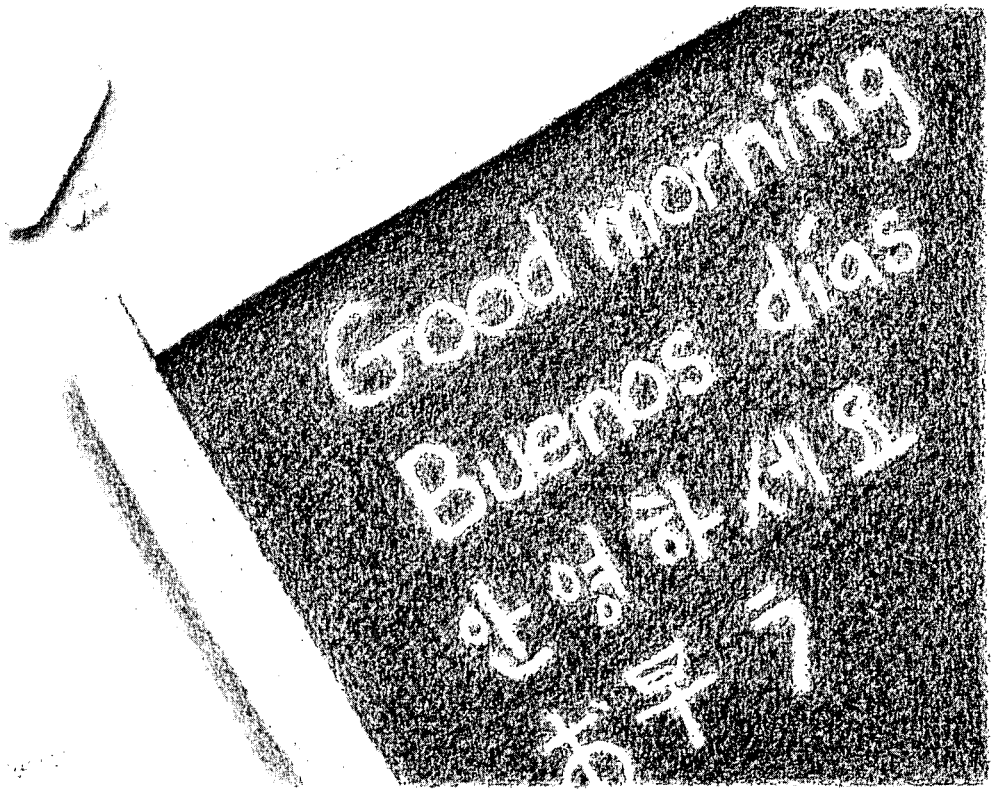


illustration by Nancy Barnet

# With schools becoming towers of Babel, California stumbles along without a state bilingual education program

California has been a melting pot for more than a century, a place where immigrants have come from all over the world in the hope of improving their and their children's lives. While the influx of immigrants has improved the state's cultural diversity, educating immigrant children has posed unique problems for state educators. Los Angeles' sprawling unified school district is a virtual Tower of Babel, with more than 100 native languages spoken by the student population.

Incredibly, in the face of this growing lingual soup, California has been without a state bilingual education program for nearly six years. Whatever is done in this state to address the problem has been done on the federal dole. The reasons for this lapse are varied and complex.

Many of the difficulties schools face today with non-English-speaking students were the same decades ago: Students lag behind native-English-speakers in their studies until they master English; teachers have trouble communicating with them; and the children become caught between the two worlds of school and home. But decades ago, the problem didn't involve nearly so many children, and the variety of languages wasn't so pronounced. Those numbers have escalated dramatically in recent years, including a growing number from smaller countries.

While the number of Hispanic students who cannot speak English well has escalated over the past five years from 449,308 to 828,036 — an 84 percent increase — teaching English to these native-Spanish speakers is relatively easy. It's the increase of students who speak other languages that has proven to be particularly troublesome. For example, statistics from the Department of Education show that the number of Armenian-speaking students has increased 417 percent; Hmong students, 118 percent in the past five years. The number of Korean-, Vietnamese- and Filipino-speaking students has increased also, as have many other nationalities. As these multi-cultural and multi-lingual populations have increased, problems caused by

**By Mary Beth Barber**



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their influx have intruded into state politics. The debate over bilingual education has become more pronounced as a result.

The number of non-native-English speaking students in public education is staggering. According to the Little Hoover Commission, nearly one-third of the state's five million students speak a primary language other than English. "Almost one million students — about one of every five students — need help either because they do not speak English at all or they speak it very poorly," said Nathan Shapell, longtime chairman of the commission and himself an immigrant who came to the United States following World War II.

The diversity of languages spoken by these children complicates the problem. True, 75 percent speak Spanish, but the remaining 25 percent speak dozens of different languages, from Hmong to Russian to Hindi to Cambodian to Arabic to Mandarin to Filipino — and beyond.

And the number of students keeps increasing. Over the last five years, non-English-speaking student enrollment has increased 65 percent. For some languages, especially Asian languages, there are few instructors who can translate for students. Hmongs, originally from Indochina, speak a simplistic language that is difficult for Westerners to understand. "And the difference between some Chinese dialects is like the difference between English and Japanese, I am told," said Cathie Douglas, an aide with Democratic state Senator Henry Mello of Watsonville.

The problem is especially pronounced in the state's urban areas. "In San Francisco, where I'm from, there is probably more than 50 percent non-native English speakers," said Ella Tom Miyamoto, a legislative advocate for the state PTA.

Current programs are not helping students learn English any faster, said Shapell. "California has a bilingual education system that pays schools more the longer they can keep students in bilingual classes, rather than rewarding schools that move children into the regular classroom."

But there are no easy answers on the best way to educate these kids. "What we do know is that after 16 years of bilingual education, ... no one knows how much it costs, no one can point to any single program that works best, and no one has measured the performance of students in any meaningful way," said Shapell.

Despite the apparent urgency, California has been without a program to teach non-English-speaking children for more than six years. The state bilingual education act sunsetted in 1987, and every attempt by the Legislature to enact another program — mostly from Democrats — has been met with vetoes by Governor Pete Wilson or former Governor George Deukmejian, both Republicans. Bilingual educational programs do continue, largely due to federal law and funding. But the need for a state program is growing as the number of limited-English-proficient students — now called "English learners" — grows in both size and diversity of languages.

Exacerbating the problem is a hot debate over whether bilingual educational programs really work. Many critics, including angry parents of both native-English speakers and English learners, believe that the methods developed by educational theorists don't apply to the classroom. Instead, they claim, the classes hinder native-English speakers in their general classes and slow the English learners' progress.

"The program that was promised to be a two- to three-year transitional program was seriously flawed," stated Sally Peterson, a Los Angeles-area teacher in a brief published by the English First Foundation — a group that opposes bilingual education. "In reality, it became a long-term, monolingual, Spanish-language development program."

Some parents of children who speak only English are angry with current programs as well because, to qualify for federal funding, a certain percentage of native-English speakers must also attend bilingual classrooms. These parents claim that their children are being cheated by the system and are having trouble learning as a result.

Schools in San Francisco were accused of using an unusually large number of African-American students as part of the native-English speakers portion of bilingual education programs in 1991. And the *Orange County Register* noted a Cambodian student who told his parents he had learned some English words. "He proceeded to speak them in Spanish," the *Register* reported.

In response to the problems some parents have with current bilingual programs, GOP Assemblyman Bill Morrow of Oceanside introduced a bill to allow English-speaking students to be removed from bilingual programs at the request of their parents. The bill is awaiting final amendments and then will be heard in Assembly Education.

While the bill may seem to be relatively harmless, critics say that Morrow has another agenda: to restrict bilingual education. These critics also claim that his legislation purports to fix what they see as a minor problem. To back their claim that Morrow really wants to torpedo bilingual education, some note that when he sends out copies of his bill's outline, he also includes other material that call attention to faults in today's bilingual programs.

Legislators who support bilingual education would like to get a set policy on the books rather than work from federal statutes. Mello, for instance, has been trying to get a bill passed for several years. His current effort, SB 33, mandates that schools provide alternative classes to non-English-speaking students, with the type of program dependent upon the number of students in the school who need additional instruction. If there are more than 100 students who speak a particular foreign language in a school, a full bilingual program is required. Schools with fewer English learners would have to implement modified programs. He introduced an nearly identical bill last year only to have it vetoed by Wilson.

Organizations like the PTA support Mello's bill, claiming that it would build flexible programs for the kids and encourage parents to participate. Schools have little guidance from the state, said Mello staffer Douglas.

"There are a hodgepodge of programs out there," Douglas said. And studies have shown that Hispanic first graders who are English learners and taught 80 percent of the time in Spanish, combined with a strong English-as-a-second-language program, have made great strides. "By third grade, those percentages have totally switched — 20 percent in Spanish and 80 percent in English," said Douglas.

Mello's SB 33 has passed out of the Senate Education Committee. If SB 33 remains in its current form — which is almost identical to the bill vetoed last year — California could be without a bilingual educational program for yet another year.



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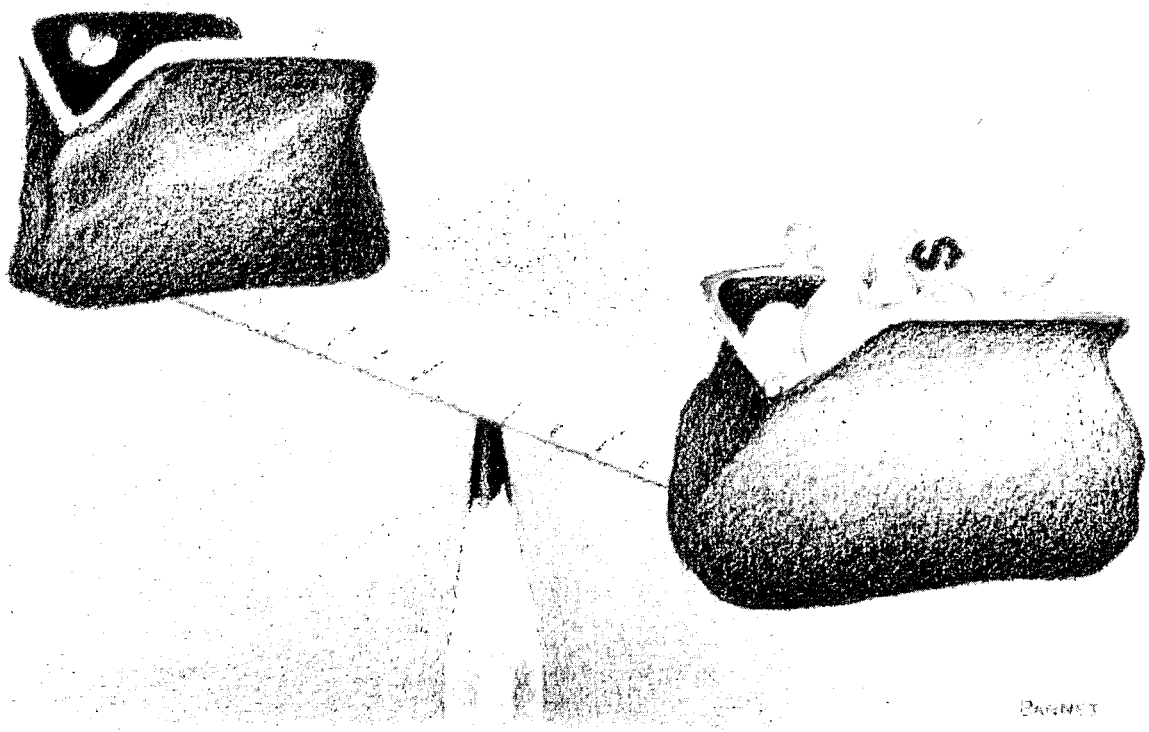

Illustration by Nancy Barnet

# *Serrano* 20 years later

## *More than two decades after the landmark court decision, the gap between "have" and "have not" school districts still exists*

Back in the 1960s, when local property taxes provided most of the money for education, the Serrano family of Baldwin Park was among many to notice a glaring disparity in the amount that was being spent on their child's public school education. Put simply, even if residents of their modest, suburban neighborhood paid sky-high property tax rates to support their schools, they could only come up with a paltry sum compared to nearby Beverly Hills, which could levy a few pennies on each $100 of property and produce barrels full of money. The reason was obvious: Property was, and is, more valuable in Beverly Hills than in Baldwin Park, so the students of Baldwin Park would forever be at a disadvantage to the students in Beverly Hills.

**By Danielle Starkey**

A more glaring contrast than Baldwin Park and Beverly Hills occurred in Kern County, where in 1970 the oil-rich McKittrick Elementary School District levied 39 cents per $100 of assessed property value and came up with $3306 per pupil. Nearby China Lake Elementary School District levied $3.60, and raised just $358 per child. Despite the fact that residents of China Lake were willing to tax themselves at 10 times the rate of McKittrick to pay for their childrens' education, guess who had the better schools?

In a lawsuit filed in 1968 that bears the Serranos' name, the California Supreme Court found that the state's school finance system was unconstitutional, since it discriminated against students in poorer communities. The "soul" of the *Serrano v. Priest* decision was a tax equity issue, but the effect was that the Legislature had to reduce district-to-district variations in basic funding to less than $100.

In its most recent review of *Serrano* in 1989,



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**I think it's outrageous that one district won't be able to buy crayons, and another will be able to buy a swimming pool per kid**
***— Eleanor Leo***

the Court agreed that California has complied with the requirement to reduce wealth-related disparities in per-pupil spending on general education to "insignificant differences."

Does that mean the playing field now is level?

Not really. *Serrano* has had the effect of filling some of the deepest potholes. But it has not, as commonly believed, resulted in a complete equalization of spending on students. Most districts spend a few thousand dollars per student, while others spend $13,000 or more (the average spent per student last year was $4187). That disparity resulted because Serrano did not remove the benefits associated with wealth: Districts with revenues from oil wells, timber fields or racetracks, or with wealthy families inclined to give money to schools, are still better off. So while some districts are obliged to sell cookies to keep the school library open, others put out a call in the neighborhood for computers — and get them.

Through a series of legislative maneuvers, however, 95 percent of the kids in California schools today are in districts that spend roughly the same amount per pupil (give or take $300) for general education, compared to 20 years ago, when only half the kids in California were in districts that spent roughly the same amount per student. That is because one of the Legislature's first acts to implement *Serrano* was to have the state set so-called "base revenue limits" for each district. Basically, a revenue limit is a fixed amount of money a district may receive from state funds and local property taxes. Unfortunately for many districts, those limits are based on district spending in *1972* — the year lawmakers designed the system. But freezing limits in 1972 froze into place inequities as well, because, as we have seen in Beverly Hills and elsewhere, spending levels among districts at that point were different. That happened because various districts had an unequal ability in previous years to raise money through property tax levies. In addition, some communities showed an unwillingness in previous years to levy higher taxes. And this, too, was cemented into the equation.

"Think of a revenue limit as a bucket, and each district has a slightly different-sized bucket," said Barbara Miller, research director for EdSource, a non-profit education organization in Menlo Park. "Now, pour in the local property taxes and add enough state money to bring the money in the bucket up to the top. A district that receives more property tax dollars than the bucket will hold keeps what's in the bucket *and* the overflow," she said. As of 1990, for example, one elementary school district had a base revenue limit of $2592, while another in that same year had a revenue limit of $7673.

Beverly Hills has always had a big bucket because historically, they had a high spending level per pupil, said Ray Reinhard, assistant secretary in the governor's Office of Child Development and Education. That's because parents there traditionally have shown a willingness to raise taxes. But Beverly Hills is able to spend more per pupil than the state average for another reason: "They also have an oil well on property in the Beverly Hills School District, and all that income is additional money to the district that they get to keep," he said. "The only revenue source most districts have is property tax revenue, but others have timber taxes, horse racing fees, oil wells..."

Some districts have parents who are willing and able to pony up a few thousand bucks for their kids. "If you happen to live in a community and can persuade parents to ante up to buy computers or support the football team, [it's] not required to be reported to the state," said Reinhard. "It seems fairly evident that wealthy communities would have an easier time raising money [than poorer ones]," he said. In a Laguna Beach district, for example, someone donated a Mercedes Benz to be auctioned off to benefit the district, and the winners donated the car *back* to the district to be auctioned off again.

"Should the money raised in that manner — if it is indeed related to wealth — should there be some limits to it? That's nothing the Department of Education and Legislature care to get involved in," Reinhard said.

The matter is complicated by the fact that no records are kept as to how much money is raised by districts in this and other creative manners.

"Another complaint is that the formulas for directing categorical funds [money given to aid students with special needs] may be skewed toward large urban districts — those with political clout," such as the LA Unified School District, Reinhard said. LA received urban-impact aid under the theory that costs associated with operating urban schools were extraordinary and outside the district's control, such as for security or the higher cost of living. There are 50-odd categorical programs — including bi-lingual education, tobacco use prevention programs and gifted and talented programs — and money given for these is not calculated in each district's revenue limit.

"An independent study by the Legislative


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Analyst's Office concluded that the formula used [to give urban-impact aid] didn't appear to correlate with what those costs were, so [the analyst in the mid-1980s] recommended the program be restructured or eliminated," said Reinhard, who from 1983 to 1991 was in charge of the analyst's K-12 group in its education section.

At the time of *Serrano*, an effort was made to calculate differences in spending per pupil among all the state's more than 1000 school districts. Only half of the kids were in districts that spent within $100 of each other, and the range was anywhere from about $1000 per pupil to $10,000 per pupil. By a gradual process expected to take upwards of 25 years, the state began "evening-out" revenue limits by granting higher cost-of-living increases to districts with a lower-than-the-average revenue limit and giving none to other districts. This was known as the "squeeze" formula. All districts, however, receive $120 per student in basic aid, regardless how much they spend overall per student and in addition to money for categorical programs.

Today, 48 districts, or 5 percent of the total, raise so much money within the district that they don't qualify for any state money above basic aid and categorical funding. (These are called "basic aid districts.") Even though those 48 districts have enormous buckets, there never has been much of an effort to get rid of their basic aid.

"Getting rid of basic aid? That's just peanuts," said Michael Dillon, a lobbyist for the Sacramento-based Association of Low-Wealth Schools.

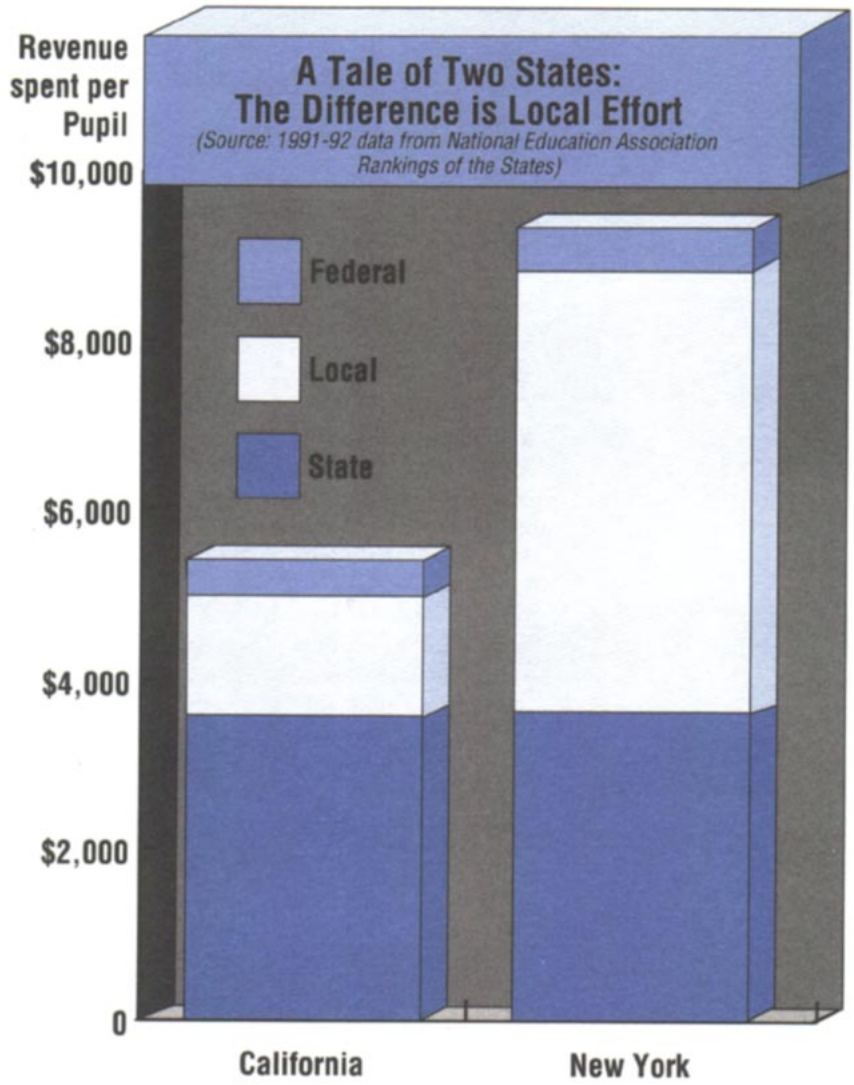
Now, the argument has centered in part on whether that $100 span set by the original *Serrano* court was meant to be adjusted for inflation over the years. If so, the span now is about $300.

"We feel a $300 difference in the revenue limit is substantial, and disagree with a subsequent court's ruling that it was okay to adjust [that figure] for inflation," said Dillon, who wants district buckets to remain as close to the same size as possible.

Eleanor Leo, senior analyst for the Los Angeles Unified School District, seems to agree with Dillon. But she says any move to change the system isn't worth the effort. "I think it's outrageous that one district won't be able to buy crayons, and another will be able to buy a swimming pool per kid," said Leo. "From a purely logical standpoint, it [further equalization in spending] ought to be done, because it's right. But I think the disruption of distributing it isn't worth it, so [many believe] 'It's close enough for government work.'"

And according to Reinhard, if the state gave those 48 wealthy districts a bucket equal to most other districts, then redistributed their overflow to the remaining 95 percent of state districts, "my guess is you might give every pupil an extra $10."

State Senator Becky Morgan, a Los Altos Hills Republican, said, "Basically, the impact of *Serrano* was to cap the top, and we've equalized up, rather than equalize down."




Morgan said she's tried unsuccessfully to enact legislation to remedy the situation. she wants to take the elementary schools that feed into a common high school, average the revenue limit for those feeder schools, and have the state fund a new revenue limit for any one of those feeders that is $200 less than the average of per pupil spending for all of them.

"Say the average of eight feeder schools is $3800," Morgan explained. "Any of those schools not getting $3600 per child will get that amount [$3600] next year." But Morgan's idea would have cost the state about $30 million, and as a result, her efforts went down to defeat in 1986, '87 and '88. Democratic Senator Dan McCorquodale of Modesto has tried it since 1988, also to no avail. According to Morgan, her bill always slammed up against too many competing programs.

While the Morgan-McCorquodale effort is meant to try to further level the field among districts, a recent bill by Democratic Senator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## Think of a revenue limit as a bucket, and each district has a slightly different-sized bucket,"

*— Barbara Miller*

Gary Hart of Santa Barbara may skew it once again. SB 1, which recently passed the Senate, allows local communities by a majority — not two-thirds — vote to increase funding for schools by levying a parcel tax that is not based on the size or assessed value of the parcel.

"This bill will help restore the connection between local voters, the taxes they pay, and what they get for their schools," said Hart. "For the forseeable future, the state is in a desperate struggle to find sufficient state resources to adequately fund the schools. This bill provides an important supplement." In 1992, he said, even though 82 percent of local ballot measures to increase school funding were approved by a majority of voters, only 29 percent of them became law because of the two-thirds vote requirement.

How does SB 1 fit in the *Serrano* equation? "*Serrano* is complicated, and it's not well understood. These [questions] are better addressed once SB 1 is enacted into law," said Hart. "The *Serrano* decision specifically addressed the wealth-related [disparities of per-pupil spending]. Since every parcel will be taxed the same, it doesn't violate this." Further, he said, "It doesn't follow that more affluent areas will support more generous amounts than the inner city. SB 1 gives us the mechanism to allow the significant infusion of money to close the gap [in per pupil spending] between California, New York and New Jersey. That's the gap people ought to be concerned about."

But parcel taxes may bump up against the *Serrano* decision, according to EdSource's Barbara Miller. "Will the same amount of money be raised per student [from parcel taxes] in different areas in a way that gives each child an equal opportunity for an education?"

All this debate over the technicalities of *Serrano* aside, the real bottom line is the education of California children. "California spends per student $2000 below the average of other industrialized states," said lobbyist Michael Dillon. And graduates still are entering the job market who can't read or write well enough to do an entry level job.


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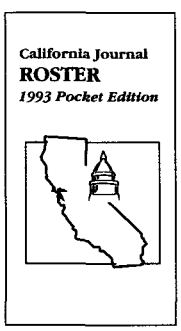


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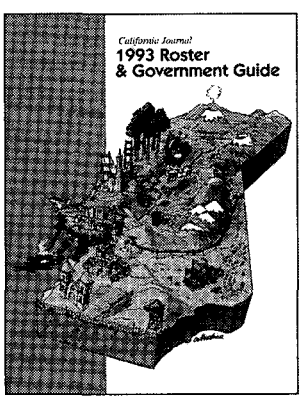





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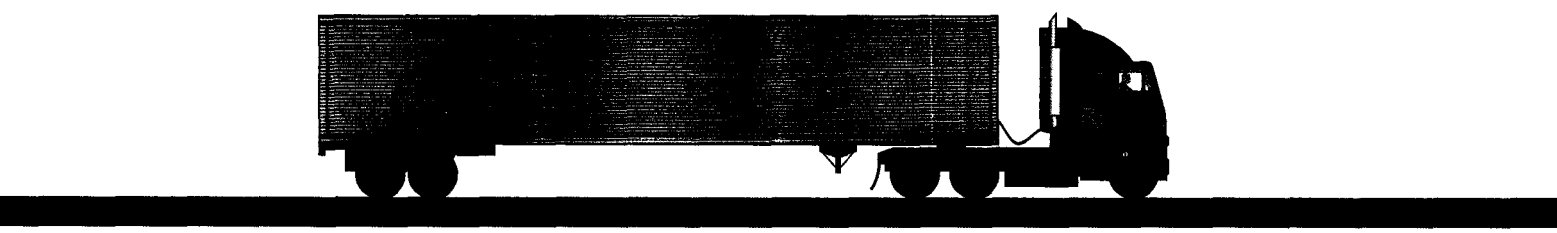

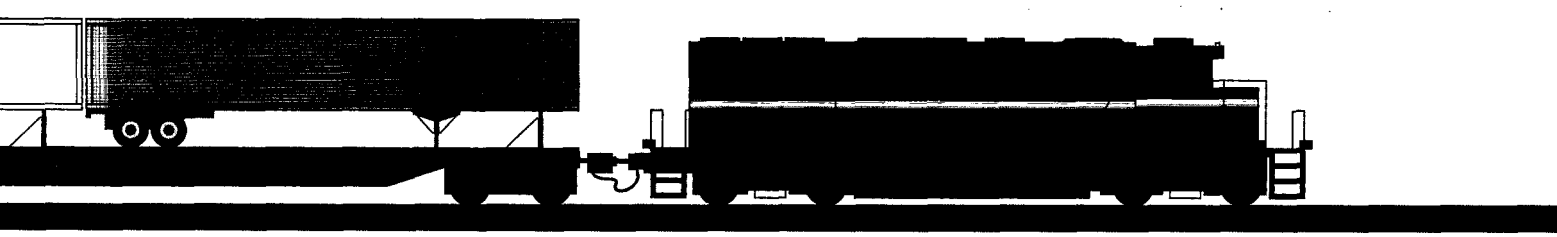

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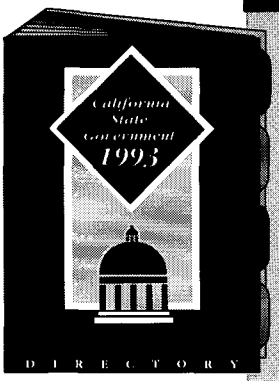


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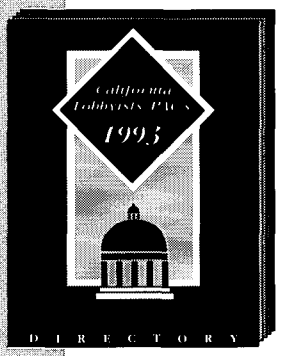


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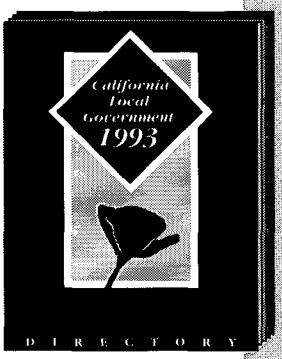


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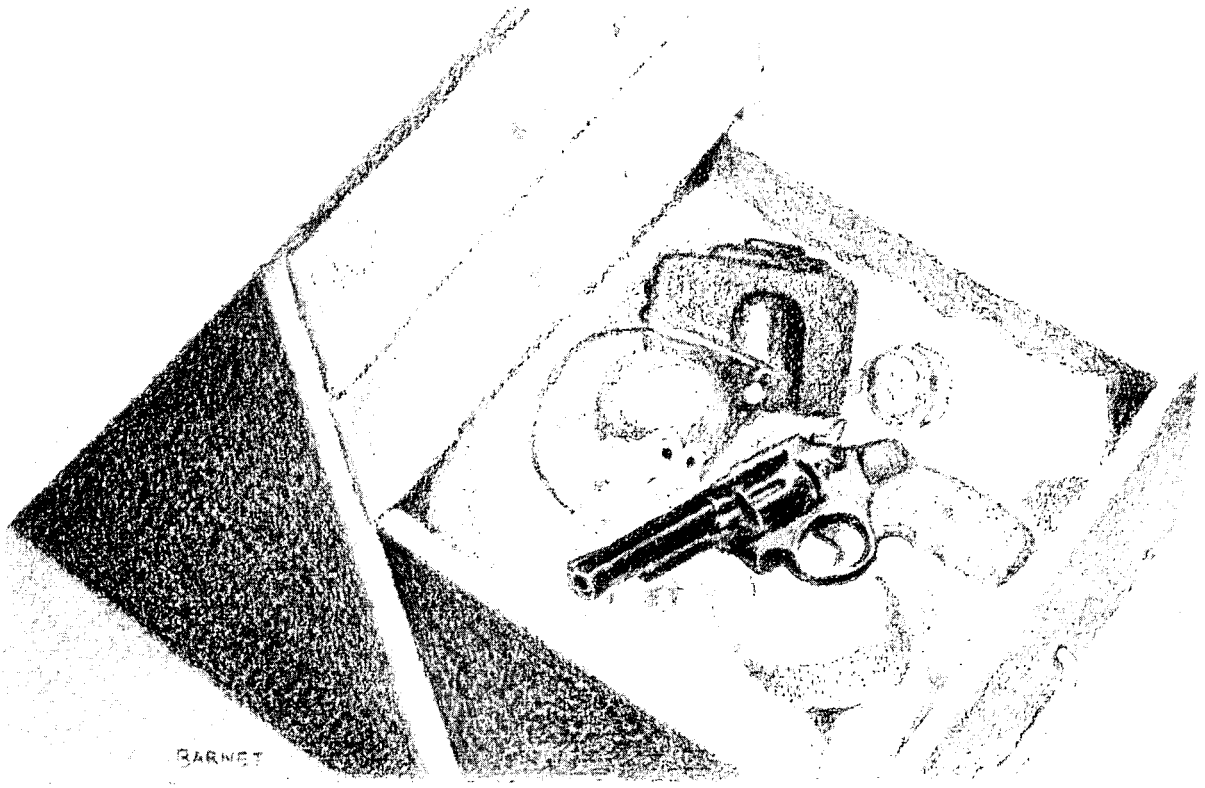


illustration by Nancy Barnet

# *Lack of school safety related to growth of gang activity on campus*

When Joe Beck, a senior high school student from Ventura, stood up at last month's state Parent and Teachers Association convention in Sacramento, he had some advice on how to deal with the growing epidemic of violence in state schools. Parental involvement. "Not until the death of one of our students did everyone finally get involved in programs for our school," he said. "They should have been before that." Beck pointed out that programs that involved the whole community were necessary to rid schools of violence.

In a subsequent interview, Beck told about a program at his school called "SOS Jessie," named for the student who had died, that was created to make schools safer by going into the community to find alternatives to gangs for kids.

**By Mary Beth Barber**

While "SOS Jessie" is working now, Beck added some sobering words. "If it took the death of one student to get parents involved in Ventura County, what will it take to get the attention of the nation, or the state of California? A bunch of us dying? Because that happens in L.A. every day."

California schools have come to a crisis point, because students are afraid to enter a classroom or walk through the halls for fear of being accosted. School fights, petty thefts and misdemeanors such as graffiti are nothing new for California public schools. But they have given way to knifings and shootings as the level and violent nature of school crime has escalated. The often-tense atmosphere on many California school campuses today is more reminiscent of Beirut or Sarajevo than of Bakersfield. Even worse is the constant, underlying fear that some students experience and that interferes with their learning. Headlines about school violence abound, from fatal shootings at Fairfax and Reseda high schools in Los Angeles, to a stab-



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**About 15 percent of weapons violations at schools throughout the United States were in the Los Angeles area.**

bing and gasoline dousing of a coed by a Contra Costa student who attempted to set the girl on fire.

But the situations that receive a large chunk of the attention by the media, such as the shootings or the Contra Costa stabbing, are not directly related to the one factor that observers say is most responsible for the increased violence: gangs.

"Gangs are everywhere, and here to stay," said Paul Jablonsky, a parole agent with the California Youth Authority. "And street gangs are involved in criminal things." The whole object of a modern-day gang is violence, he said, making them inherently dangerous.

While the gangs of the past committed crimes, they never approached today's level of violence. "They may have broken a few windows and stolen a few hubcaps," said Dick Tillson, another CYA official. But today's gangs have created a completely different situation — a situation that should have been addressed ages ago.

"I think we are very, very late," Tillson said of anti-gang programs that have sprung up across the state. Kids need alternatives to gangs and some positive adult leadership, "as well as a place to hang out," he said. With few group projects or activities available to these teenagers, the gang becomes the main social unit. Some cities are starting programs, like the Elk Grove Teen Center in the growing suburban community south of Sacramento. "But they are very limited. That's where the state should give help and support," Tillson said.

Drastic measures are needed for urban areas where gangs are prevalent, but programs are needed to block the spread into suburban and rural areas as well, where parents and community members may not be as aware of the gangs in their area. Jablonsky recalled a speech he gave to the PTA five years ago where suburban parents were offended when he suggested that gangs were at their suburban schools. "Now they know differently," he said. Listeners were much more attentive at the PTA convention last month in Sacramento than in 1988, although many parents were still skeptical that gangs exist in their communities.

Tillson agreed with Jablonsky that gangs are widespread, even in suburban and rural communities. "I think it's just a matter of degree. Gangs are so widespread that these kids aren't 'them' anymore. They are us."

Gang mentality is beginning to be passed on from one generation to the next, as younger and younger kids are influenced by older gang members, and gang members themselves have children. "The really sad thing is that gangs have become trendy," and businesses are profiting from gang popularity, said Jablonsky. Well-known gang graffiti artists, or "taggers," have their work displayed on tee-shirts. Gang clothing, especially related to professional sports teams, has become trendy in department stores. Companies may not be directly pushing youngsters into gangs, but the effect is that gangs have become more popular with younger and younger children.

While CYA officials do all they can to discourage young lawbreakers from returning to gangs — including making any gang activity a violation of probation — the real key is a grassroots prevention effort. "We need the PTA, principals, parents and kids all participating in these programs. Questions need to be posed to these kids, like how many of your uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, or fathers and mothers for that matter, have been shot and killed? And maybe we need to start getting ex-gang members talking as well," said Tillson.

Another way of preventing violence is by finding out about any troubles, said Jablonsky. The lines of communication need to be open among different campuses. "Schools are a tremendous source of information," he said. If more teachers were talking to more schools officials who were talking to local authorities and other schools, many eruptions of violence would be known about beforehand by law enforcement.

But the most important prevention of gangs is education, continued Jablonsky, "and you've got to get them when they're young." Between videos, rap songs and gang clothing, kids are inundated from a very young age, and anti-gang programs have to get to them first.

The three most needed things to get programs started — money, resources and leadership — are scarce these days, both on the local level and the state level. There is $1.7 million from the Federal Trust Fund for Anti-Drug Abuse and Drug Free Schools and Communities Act program available for state programs, but immediate problems concerning school violence will most likely have first priority over anti-gang efforts. The Legislature is considering spending the federal funds on metal detectors and school safety plans instead.


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"Metal detectors don't get to the root cause of why kids take guns to school" but are necessary to create a relatively safe school environment, said Assembly Democrat Richard Katz, a resident of Sylmar in Los Angeles and the author of AB 777, which would set up metal detectors in Los Angeles schools. The need is greater in Los Angeles than in other parts of the state because there are more weapons in Los Angeles schools, said Katz. About 15 percent of weapons violations at schools throughout the United States were in the Los Angeles area. While that number is drastically lower than in New York, which claimed 50 percent of all kids caught with weapons, the remaining 35 percent were scattered throughout the U.S. Katz believes the numbers show a greater need in Los Angeles. "It's not a long-term solution," he said. "But it's going to stop the bleeding, and we've got to start somewhere."

Other legislators want to try out metal detectors at schools before launching a full-scale program. Assemblyman Burt Margolin, another Los Angeles Democrat, is carrying AB 1454, which would set up a pilot program in the Los Angeles Unified School District and another in a Northern California district. The pilot project would be financed from the same federal funding as AB 777, but the funds could be used for training and staffing of personnel to run the detectors, not just the initial hardware purchase.

Another topic of controversy concerns schools' safety plans to address crime and violence on campus, an idea strongly supported by Attorney General Dan Lungren. These plans would determine the most appropriate means of protecting a school against violence, including closing the campus so students couldn't leave during the day for lunch, increasing security guards in some campus areas, discouraging outsiders from loitering near the school and identifying areas nearby — such as liquor stores — that exacerbate violence. While all measures seem to be appropriate, PTA education advocate Ella Tom Miyamoto pointed out that funds are limited. Mandating a closed campus in a rural area, for example, may not be as necessary as in an urban area and may cost the school money.

Schools now are authorized to create school-safety plans but are not required to do so. Republican Assemblywoman Paula Boland of Northridge would like to require them, as well as requiring all local officials to participate. Her bill, AB 1612, stems from complaints from school safety planners who had trouble establishing the plans. David Michels, once a co-chair of the Los Angeles Unified School District School Safety and Security Task Force, resigned from the task force after experiencing difficulty obtaining information from local law enforcement. Police officials did not respond to his requests for

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> I will no long be a part of a LAUSD-board-sponsored sham to mislead the public into thinking that something is being done to combat school violence when, in fact, the main thrust of top district administrators is to conceal reports of violence
> — *David Michels*

information regarding crime on the school campus and in the surrounding area, making the creation of a school safety plan increasingly difficult. Contacting the local school superintendent was of no avail, and frustration eventually led to Michels' resignation from the task force. "I will no long be a part of a LAUSD-board-sponsored sham to mislead the public into thinking that something is being done to combat school violence when, in fact, the main thrust of top district administrators is to conceal reports of violence," said Michels in his resignation letter.

Boland's bill would require all schools to create safety plans, and require all local officials involved in the data gathering to provide the necessary information. But again, money is a problem for the programs. Although the Department of Education currently awards grants of $5000 per school for plans on a competitive basis, there are only 100 grants available. Other funds are thought to make up for this, including money from a partnership between the superintendent of public instruction and the attorney general.

All three bills have had their squabbles with the Assembly Ways and Means Committee because of the costs involved, and any local school district official can simply point at the district's accounting books to explain why spot safety measures such as metal detectors or security guards have not been put in place.

But CYA officials, who see the gang members after they have committed crimes, claim that the real key is involvement on the local level.

"There's too much apathy on the part of the parents, especially in the outlying areas," said Jablonsky. "But it's everybody's problem."


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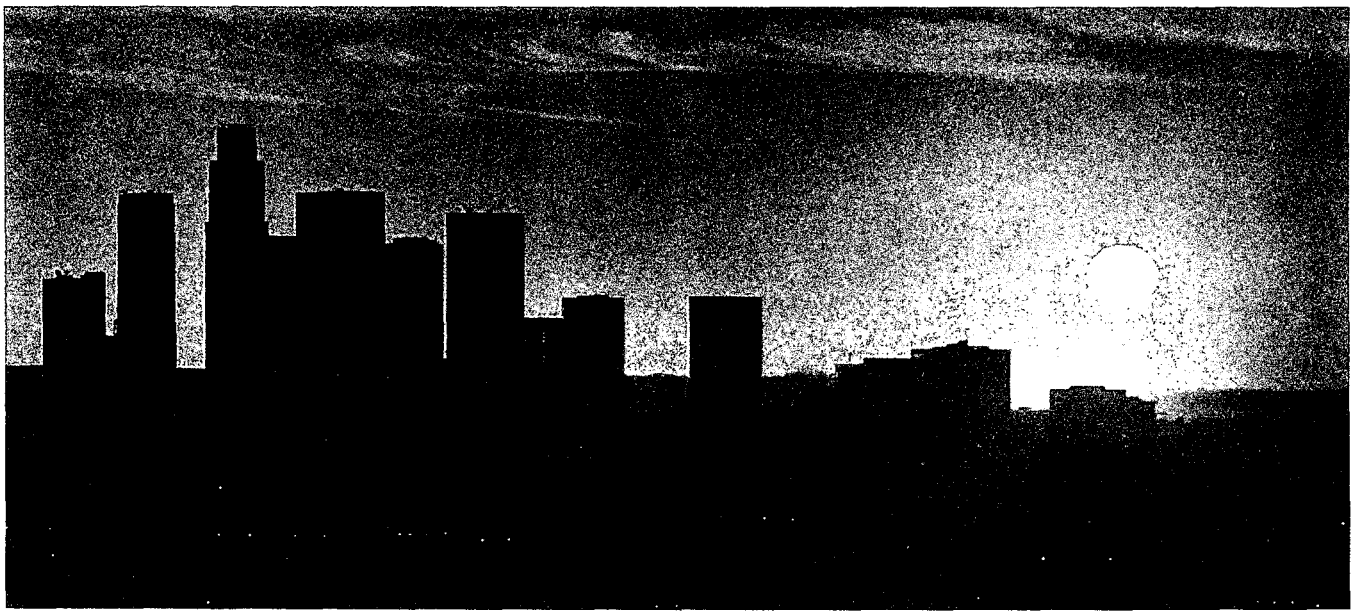

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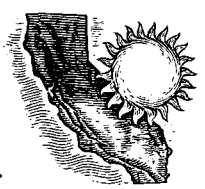

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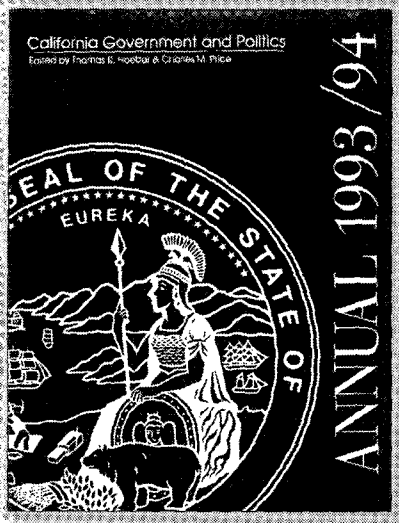


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## A spy for the Anti-Defamation League

# Did a liberal civil rights group get caught with its binoculars up?

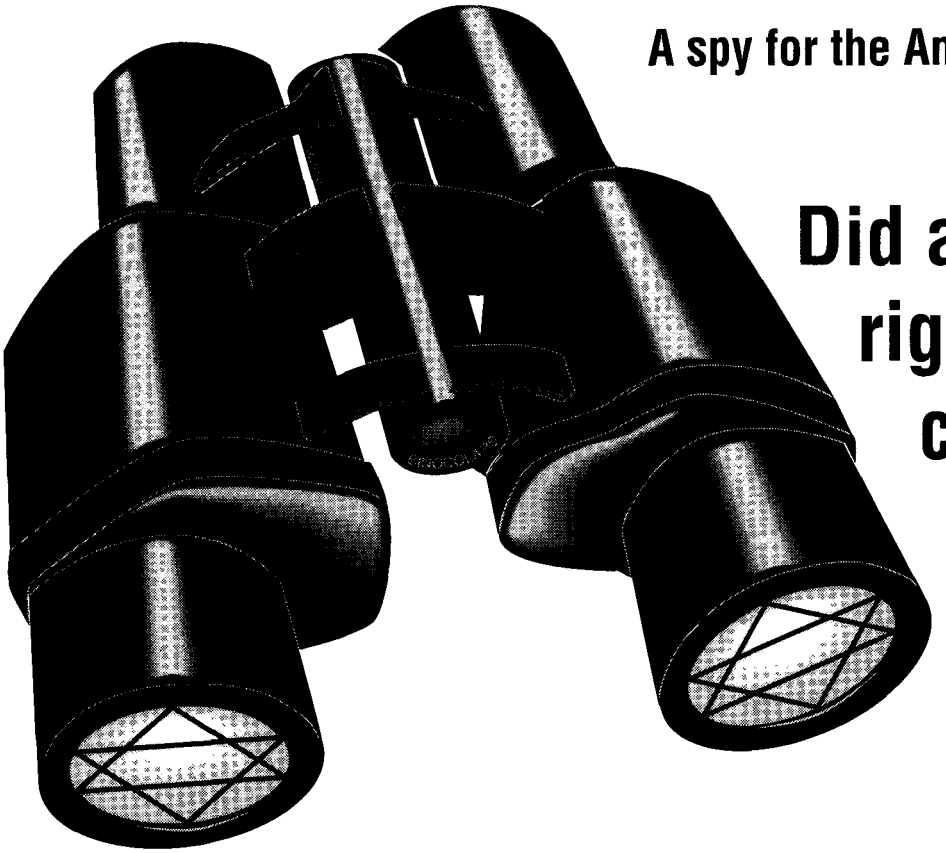

*illustration by Scarlet Hong*

**By Rick Paddock**

For nearly 40 years, Roy Bullock collected information. He infiltrated right-wing and Arab-American groups. He obtained confidential information from law-enforcement sources. He tuned in to Radio Moscow. And he pawed through people's garbage.

Bullock was a spy — or, as he prefers it, an investigator — dedicated to fighting bigotry and anti-Semitism on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). It is a calling that has taken him down some very strange paths. He once was so successful in infiltrating an Arab-American group that he was chosen to head a delegation that called on Democratic Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi in her Washington, D.C., office. Posing as a supporter of a Palestinian homeland, he gathered information on former GOP Congressman Pete McCloskey, who has long been critical of Israeli policies. And he collected material on liberal Congressman Ron Dellums, a Berkeley Democrat, filing a report to the ADL — and, on the side, selling intelligence on the congressman to the South African government.

The covert activities of this 58-year-old art dealer now have become the focus of a police investigation in San Francisco, touching off a scandal over the manner in which the Anti-Defamation League collects intelligence across the country. San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith alleges that the prominent Jewish civil-rights group has long operated a nationwide intelligence network with agents in at least seven cities, including San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Documents filed in court as part of the investigation provide detailed evidence of how Bullock, the ADL's West Coast agent, collected massive amounts of information on a wide range of political activists and organizations. The court papers, including detailed interviews with Bullock, also show how agents of the South African government were able to tap into the ADL's intelligence system by

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*Rick Paddock is a San Francisco-based correspondent for the* Los Angeles Times.



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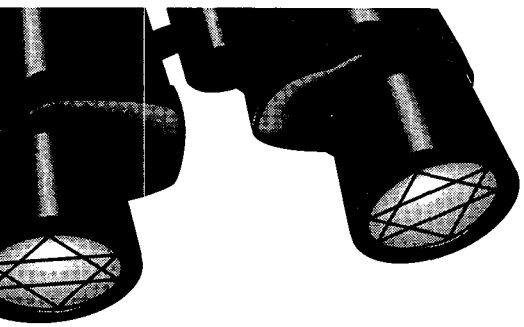

**Critics of the Anti-Defamation League note the irony of a civil-rights group seeming to violate the civil rights of others.**


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paying Bullock in crisp, new $100 bills over a period of four years.

San Francisco police, who searched Bullock's home, found a computer with files on nearly 10,000 people and more than 950 organizations. The files were broken down into five categories: Right, Pinko, Arab, Skins (for skinheads) and ANC (for the African National Congress). The groups he collected information on were quite diverse, including Earth Island Institute, the NAACP, the ACLU, the National Lawyers Guild, the United Farm Workers, the Nation of Islam, KQED television, Jews for Jesus, the Jewish Defense League, Operation Rescue, the KKK and the White Aryan Resistance. Also in the files was confidential information — such as driver's license data and criminal histories — on 1394 people, police said.

In the bedroom of his San Francisco house, Bullock kept a box of San Francisco Police Department intelligence files on various right-wing groups. The files, which included police surveillance photographs, were supposed to have been destroyed when the department curtailed its intelligence activities in the late 1980s.

In separate searches, authorities carted away boxes of documents from ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and they alleged that some illegally obtained information was passed on to the organization and stored in its files.

Also implicated in the case is former San Francisco police inspector Tom Gerard, a onetime CIA agent who allegedly provided Bullock with police files and other confidential law-enforcement information. Last fall, after he was questioned by the FBI, the 50-year-old intelligence specialist fled to the Philippines, which has no extradition treaty with the United States. Shortly thereafter, he resigned form the police department. A search of Gerard's Sausalito houseboat turned up computer files much like Bullock's, with more than 7000 names of individuals. Authorities say Gerard also received money from South Africa for information.

Bullock, Gerard and Anti-Defamation League officials all say they have done nothing illegal. The ADL, while continuing to pay Bullock, has begun its own inquiry into the matter.

"Was somebody asleep at the switch?" asked Barbara Wahl, an attorney for the ADL. "I don't know, but we're going to look."

Smith says he will pursue the investigation wherever the evidence leads, and he is considering bringing charges against officials of the ADL.

"From the beginning, Gerard and Bullock have been the central focus of the investigation," said Smith. "However, you take your investigation where your facts lead you."

Critics of the Anti-Defamation League note the irony of a civil-rights group seeming to violate the civil rights of others. Some Arab-American leaders allege that the information was used to intimidate critics of Israel and keep them from speaking out. McCloskey, now practicing law in Menlo Park, has filed a civil suit on behalf of 19 people who say they were victims of spying by the ADL, including McCloskey's wife, Helen, and the son of former Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens.

But Bullock and ADL officials deny that their intelligence-gathering efforts violated anyone's civil rights. ADL officials say that they function much like journalists in their fact-finding operation, collecting information on various people and groups and publishing reports about them. In a lengthy interview with San Francisco police, Bullock said that most of the information he collected came from public sources, such as newspapers and speeches. Just because someone's name was in his files, he said, does not mean the person was under surveillance.

"I might never see or call up on 99 percent of them again," Bullock said. "And it doesn't mean anything that they're in the files.. It's not a threat to anyone's civil rights that a name appears in my files under, say, 'Pinko.'"

The investigation into the private intelligence operation began when the FBI became suspicious that Gerard and Bullock were leaking information to the South African government. The possibility made the FBI quite nervous because both men also worked closely with the FBI. As a police intelligence officer, Gerard dealt with the FBI on many cases and had introduced Bullock to agents he knew in San Francisco. Bullock, who had provided information to the bureau during the 1950s, began working again as an FBI informant, at one point receiving a payment of $500 for his efforts.

Concerned about the espionage, the FBI tapped Bullock's phone and,



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among other things, recorded him talking about obtaining confidential information — such as home addresses — from the Department of Motor Vehicles through law-enforcement sources. In one of the more bizarre incidents in the case, the FBI listened as Bullock and David Gurvitz, a former ADL fact-finder in Los Angeles, discussed using such information to get revenge on one of Gurvitz' rivals — a researcher employed by the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies. The idea was to give the home address of the man to a right-wing hate group and brand him as a Jewish spy. That tape-recorded conversation was enough to prompt the FBI to reveal the existence of the wiretap and send a warning to the man that his life was in danger. Gurvitz later explained that he was only joking, but the ADL immediately forced him to resign. He now is cooperating with authorities in the case and has been promised immunity from prosecution.

The FBI has turned over most of the investigation to San Francisco authorities but still is pursuing evidence found in a briefcase Gerard left behind in his gym locker. In the briefcase were hundreds of pages of documents, including false identification papers in 10 different names, information on Central American death squads, photos of men blindfolded and chained, a black executioner-style hood and a CIA cable marked "secret." Since February, when the briefcase was discovered, the FBI has been attempting to determine whether the cable is authentic, whether Gerard obtained it illegally and whether he passed it on to anyone else.

Tracked down on the remote island of Palawan in the Philippines, Gerard told the *Los Angeles Times* that the document and other items in the briefcase were his insurance against prosecution in the San Francisco spying case. If he is put on trial, he said, he will expose CIA collaboration with Central American death squads that tortured and murdered thousands of political opponents.

The CIA refuses to say whether Gerard was an employee but has repeatedly denied providing direct support to the right-wing death squads. Gerard said he quit the agency in 1985 because he no longer could accept what he saw in Central America. Meanwhile, Gerard recently returned to the U.S. from his hideout in the Philippines and was arrested upon arriving at San Francisco airport. He was indicted on four counts of theft of government documents and one count of conspiracy. He pled not guilty and is free on bail.

While Gerard hid out in the Philippines, Bullock stayed behind to answer the questions of authorities. In lengthy police and FBI interviews filed with the court, Bullock said he began gathering intelligence as a volunteer for the ADL when he was in high school in Indiana in the 1950s. In 1960 Bullock moved to California and was hired by the league as an investigator. To disguise his affiliation with the ADL, he was paid by Beverly Hills attorney Bruce Hochman, who in turn was paid by the ADL. For more than 30 years, the prominent attorney and ADL member never missed a payment to Bullock, who now gets $550 a week.

"I was an investigator for the ADL," Bullock told police. "I investigated any and all anti-democratic movements ... I'm a one-of-a-kind."

Operating out of his home in the Castro District, Bullock infiltrated at least 30 right-wing, skinhead, gay and Arab-American organizations, including the American Nazi Party, John Birch Society, the Minutemen and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Bullock almost always used his own name, although he once went by the alias "Elmer Fink." In an interview with the *Times*, Bullock said infiltrating groups is not difficult, especially right-wing organizations. "They live in the dark, restricted world of their own fervent imaginations," he said. "You say you agree, and they fall all over you."

As an undercover operative, Bullock recounted how he generally said little and stayed in the background — behavior that sooner or later marked him as an informer. On one occasion, he was threatened by a shotgun-toting skinhead. But with an easy-going manner and good sense of humor, he usually was accepted for years.

Bullock also gleaned much useful information by going through the trash of his target groups, ranging from the Christic Institute to various right-wing organizations. He said his technique of looking through garbage once enabled him to help police track down a right-wing kook who was bombing synagogues in San Francisco. Often, he would share his trash with Gerard, who observed, "We were the kings of garbage. I love garbage because garbage

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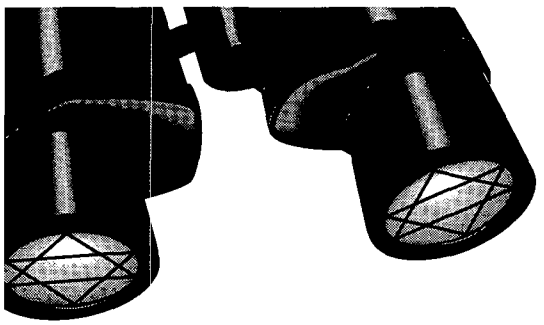

**We were the kings of garbage. I love garbage because garbage doesn't lie.**

***— Tom Gerard***

doesn't lie."

Bullock also ran his own informants, with names like "Scumbag" and "Scout." In one case now under investigation, "Scumbag" helped Bullock tap into the hot-line message system of the White Aryan Resistance, a group headed by extremist Tom Metzger. Bullock shared the information with federal agents, but authorities now say he may have violated laws against eavesdropping on telephone communications without a court order.

An information junkie, Bullock's idea of evening recreation was to listen to the English-language broadcasts from Radio Moscow or Radio Peking to see what he might learn.

In the late 1980s Bullock and Gerard were approached by an agent of the South African government who was interested in obtaining information about anti-apartheid activists in the Bay Area. Bullock already was collecting such information for the ADL, and so it was easy to begin passing on frequent reports. Eventually, Bullock said, he and Gerard split the $16,000 in payments from South African agents.

The sale of intelligence to South Africa was the only time he provided information to anyone other than the ADL or a law-enforcement agency, Bullock said. And, he insisted, the information he gave South Africa was all culled from public sources. In separate interviews, Bullock and Gerard blamed each other for passing on confidential law-enforcement information on a number of individuals. The ADL insists that the sale of intelligence to South Africa had nothing to do with activities of the league.

A critical issue in the case is whether Bullock acted independently, or was an agent of the ADL. Prosecutors contend that Bullock was a league employee, but ADL lawyers argue that he was an independent contractor who operated with little supervision and acted on his own in gathering intelligence.

"He's never been instructed, nor did we condone, his breaking of the law," said Wahl, the ADL attorney. "We don't know if he did ... We had no knowledge of him going through the trash and we certainly wouldn't have encouraged him to do that sort of thing."


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# Divorced dads fight back

## *State-mandated increases in child-support payments cause hardships for many fathers*

**By Bill Ainsworth**

Daniel Dailey considered himself to be a good father. After getting divorced five years ago, he took care of his two children 43 percent of the time and paid $54 a month in child support to his ex-wife. But last year he was shocked when new state child-support guidelines raised his payments to $208 a month. The increases have brought financial hardship to Dailey, a deputy sheriff, and his new wife. "We've had to cancel vacations and other extras because we just didn't have the money," he said.

This year, Dailey decided to join hundreds of other angry divorced dads who are fighting the child-support laws. Their new lobby, called the Coalition of Parent Support, claims more than 700 active members. These men have brought the emotions and frustrations of nasty divorce cases from the courtroom to the Capitol hearing room. The new group has packed legislative hearings, sponsored a Capitol rally, embarked on a massive letter-writing campaign and encouraged a divorced dad in the Legislature to defend men's rights.

Leaders of women's groups, however, see this emerging movement as a backlash against changes in the law that have finally given divorced mothers a fair break. Kate Sproul, lobbyist for the California chapter of the National Organization for Women, said that non-custodial parents in divorce cases, normally fathers, have had "a great deal for a long time."

"They haven't had to pay the full costs of raising a child," she said. The recent changes in the law have been "a rude awakening."

Divorced fathers will probably not succeed in overhauling the system this year, legislative aides say. But they have succeeded in focusing the Capitol's attention on the recent dramatic changes in the state's child-support laws — laws that have transformed the lives of many of the state's three million divorced parents.

Until 1991, individual judges in the state's 58 counties determined child-support award levels. State guidelines were merely tools that could be used or ignored. Over time, this system led to wide differences in child support payments

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*Bill Ainsworth is Capitol reporter for the* San Francisco Recorder.



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throughout the state.

It also led to low payments. Several studies showed that despite California's high cost of living, divorced dads were not bearing their fair share of the costs of rearing their children. One study — by the Washington, D.C.-based Women's Legal Defense Fund — found that California ranked 44th in child-support payments, even though it ranked eighth in per-capita personal income. Other studies showed that California also had a poor record in collecting support payments from delinquent dads.

Analysts for the federal government discovered that low child-support payments led to more women and children on welfare. So in 1991 the government demanded that all states adopt a single, statewide formula for child support. When California lagged behind other states, federal regulators threatened the state with a $50 million fine unless it made the change immediately.

In response, the state increased child-support payments twice within a span of 16 months. The first set of guidelines raised payments dramatically in poorer and rural counties. The second set, enacted in July 1992, raised payments across the state by an average of 25 percent. The new formula for determining payments considers the net income of both parents and the amount of time each parent cares for the children.

For many divorced fathers, the raises were a shock. Individual child support bills went up from 5 percent to 500 percent. Some fathers had been paying far below what the guidelines required because they lived in counties where payments were traditionally low or because their payments were set many years ago.

Scores of fathers and their new wives have written to the Legislature to complain. Many say they have lost houses, cars and boats to comply with the new child-support guidelines.

As co-founder of the Coalition of Parent Support, Lori Crabb, a Kern County resident, has heard many of these stories. "Ninety-nine percent of these people are people who are just trying to hang on to their life, not their lifestyle," she said. "It's food, housing and possessions. It's not fancy cars."

Crabb's organization isn't the only one standing up for divorced dads. In Alameda County, a group has launched a recall campaign against a superior court judge it believes is biased against fathers. In Marin County, about 20 fathers have formed a group called Parental Rights Organization of Dads Against Discrimination, or PRO-DAD. Each Thursday, PRO-DAD members hand out flyers in front of the Marin County courthouse protesting the new child-support laws. "We believe the court system is unfair," said Tim Sanders, one of the group's organizers.

But divorced mothers and women's groups say the system has discriminated against them for years by undervaluing the costs of rearing children. "What is unfair is what these men were paying before the guidelines ([ook effect]," said Sheila Kuehl, managing attorney for the California Women's Law Center in Los Angeles.

Kuehl believes that the divorced dads are disguising their true aim: lowering their child-support payments. The new guidelines have finally brought California payments in line with the state's high cost of living, she said, but the emerging dads' movement threatens to erode these gains.

Women's advocates also worry that the fathers' loud complaints might drown out the voices of the unorganized mothers and children who have benefited from the law. Drew Liebert, an aide to Democratic state Senator Gary Hart of Santa Barbara, believes that the new law has lifted many women and children out of poverty. The dads may complain about losing houses and cars, he says, but a lot of the mothers never had the money to buy houses in the first place.

One such woman is Holly Hoyt of Stockton. A disabled mother of four, Hoyt said the new law raised her ex-husband's obligation from $656 to $782 per month. Once he pays the money he owes her, she will be able to take her children off welfare and buy them school clothes. "I look forward to the day when my children can live at a decent level because their legislators cared about them," she wrote to Hart, who authored the legislation increasing support payments.

The women's groups and the dads' lobby agree on one issue, however: the need to prosecute deadbeat dads. The fathers' advocates say that they are complaining so loudly precisely because they do make their monthly payments. They believe the Legislature should devote more time and money to making deadbeats pay their fair share rather than increasing the payments of responsible fathers. "They're penalizing the wrong people," said Crabb.

Leaders of the fathers' groups hope to encourage some incremental legal changes that they say would make the system more fair and reduce their payments. They are backing several bills that would allow judges to implement the guidelines gradually in counties where child-support payments have been especially low. The fathers' top priority, however, is legislation introduced in the Senate by divorced dad Charles Calderon, a Montebello Democrat. In its initial form, the bill would have stopped judges from considering the income of new spouses in calculating child support payments.

After judges and women's groups opposed the bill, a Senate subcommittee amended it to encourage — not force — judges to exclude the new spouses' income. The bill still could face opposition from Phillip Isenberg, the influential chairman of the Assembly Judiciary Committee.

"I understand the pressures these fathers are under," said Isenberg, "but it is idiotic to suggest that society should not look at the father's current living conditions."

Despite his uphill struggle, Calderon plans to push ahead with this bill and another one that makes even more wide-ranging changes on behalf of divorced fathers. During the past two years, Calderon has emerged as the dads' greatest champion in the Legislature. In 1991 he cast the only vote in the Senate against the new guidelines because they did not give non-custodial parents financial credit for taking care of their children part time. Since then, the law has been changed to take part-time care into account.

Calderon's interest in family law comes from firsthand experience. Three years ago, he went through a painful divorce and custody fight before winning joint custody of his two children. "There's a whole political and legal culture that has evolved in the last 20 years," he said. "This culture has been operating on the assumption that men don't have rights."

For the past two years, Calderon has spoken to dozens of divorced fathers and their new wives, helping them to organize and understand the legislative process.

The dads' advocates realize that their bills have little chance of passage this year, but they intend to stay mobilized as a potent lobby for years to come.

"We've been quiet for too long," said Crabb.



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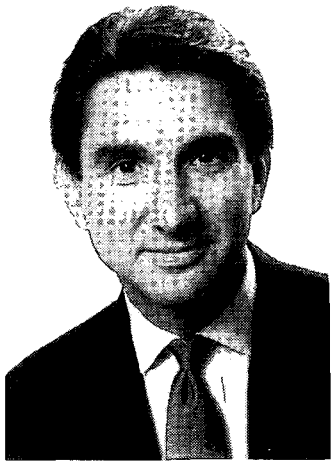

## In the midst of plenty, there is want

# Health care in America

## By Bruce Bronzan

*Editor's note: Bruce Bronzan is an associate dean of the UC San Francisco School of Medicine in Fresno. Until this past January, he was a Democratic member of the California Assembly and chairman of the Assembly Health Committee. He served in the Legislature from 1982 to January 1993.*

Think about medical care in the California — or in the United States, for that matter — and you confront an uncomfortable irony: In the midst of plenty, there is want. The society that has fostered enormous advances in medical science and technology has not developed a feasible way to deliver health care to all segments of that society. It is a zillion-dollar airport with a 10-cent control tower, a high-tech terminal with locked doors. In a country where hospitals and clinics are crammed with the most sophisticated equipment, 19 percent of all Americans have no medical insurance and little access to that equipment. The situation is worse in California, where 22 percent are uninsured.

During my 18-year political career, I spent much of my time dealing with the problems of health care. For six years prior to my 1993 resignation from the Legislature, I served as chairman of the Assembly Health Committee. Now, as associate dean of the University of California-San Francisco School of Medicine, I again must confront our health-care system, but from the inside.

Insurance is supposed to spread the expense of future health-care needs among the largest number of people to achieve the lowest average cost. But in this country, that concept has been turned on its ear when it comes to medical care. The total cost of that care, and of the insurance system, has mushroomed so completely out of control that it has fragmented the population. In few other areas is the dividing line between "haves" and "have nots" so clearly defined, and so tragic. Some people have more insurance than they need or can effectively use. Others find that the more they need insurance, the harder it is to get.

And then, there is that 19 percent — the 37 million Americans who have no insurance at all and find themselves at the mercy of an overburdened and underfinanced public health system.

To find out how we arrived at the point of this irony, we must take a long look at the problem by beginning with insurance excess. There are a multitude of coverages, each with its own load of commissions, private bureaucracies, separate and duplicate billing systems, agents' commissions, computers, pensions, profits, *ad infinitum.* All this is paid for with insurance premiums — and none of it has an iota to do with healing the sick or preventive care or medicine. There is no uniformity of coverage, and little equity in who has access to health care.

Some large businesses take care of their own with both "insurance" and medical care. Deere and Company of Moline, Illinois, established an in-house health-maintenance organziation (HMO) for its employees. Deere joined with the Mayo Clinic of Rochester, Minnesota, to build a series of clinics and a hospital to serve its huge population of current and retired employees. One way it lowered costs was to contract for drugs and medicines with one large pharmacy chain, a move that put a number of independent smaller pharmacies out of business.

When it comes to health insurance alone, some very large businesses are "self-insured;" others cover management only. Some premiums are costly because a business is small instead of large; still others are less expensive because the *insurance company* is large instead of small. Some insurance costs more because the people covered by it are old or ill, or have high-risk or low-paying jobs. Many people lose their coverage if they change jobs. People who are already sick can't get insurance at all because they have a "pre-existing condition." In some cases, coverage borders on the absurd. In one instance, a man with high blood pressure changed insurers, but the new insurer would not pay for medicine to control the high blood pressure until he had been under its coverage for one year. It would, however, cover the far-more-expensive medical costs should he suffer a stroke during that year.

Now, the medical side. A dozen years ago, the medical system was caught up in the same wave of deregulation that



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swept through, among others, the airline industry. The action was supposed to help control costs by allowing the "marketplace" to determine the fair value of health care. Instead, the system spun wildly out of control, and the culprit was overdevelopment. Every hospital, clinic and doctor's office had to have the latest high-tech gadget. Instead of a community having access to three magnetic-resonance imaging (MRI) outfits, it could choose among 15 or 16, each at a different hospital or clinic. Thus, the community may only need three but must bear the cost of five times as many very costly MRI gizmos.

Not only that, but in some specialties, medical abundance may actually contribute to killing people. A 1987 study printed in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* turned up a grim irony: the more open-heart surgery units in a given area, the higher the mortality rate for open-heart surgery. The reason: Rather than one unit performing 40 operations a month, there are five units, each performing only eight operations a month. The more skilled open-heart surgeons are those who do them often.

In a classical sense, the marketplace theory failed when it came to health care. In the tomato market, a surplus harvest drives the price of a tomato down. In the medical market, however, the reverse often is true. Too much of anything — from orthopedists to CAT scans, from surgery units to bedpans — drives the price of care *up*. First, the price of the equipment itself is high and automatically passed on to the consumer. Second, and more ominous, surplus equipment tends to be used; a patient gets that extra scan even if, medically speaking, he or she doesn't need it. The insured patient doesn't mind, since his insurance carrier foots the bill. The result, of course, is unnecessarily high insurance premiums. And those who can afford insurance pony up, subsidizing the waste but driving premiums up and poorer people off the insurance rolls.

The ultimate result: a vicious cycle of medical glut and medical famine.

The most tragic victims of this cycle are the working poor, who make up the majority of those without health insurance of any kind. They suffer from a triple whammy: Their employers don't cover them; they can't afford insurance; and they don't qualify for government assistance. Medicaid doesn't help because it was designed for the unemployed and the indigent, not for low-income working folk.

Costs also are affected by other problems. Because the uninsured can't afford to see a doctor regularly and are not covered by any kind of primary care, small problems often become expensive ones. Pre-natal care for expectant mothers costs a few dollars per visit. But if problems develop — problems that could have been detected or solved with regular pre-natal care — the price tag escalates dramatically. It costs, for instance, as much as $90,000 a month to care for a baby in a neo-natal intensive care unit. A $100 procedure to stitch up a lacerated foot can blossom into a $50,000 problem if that untreated foot develops gangrene. Because the uninsured wait until a problem becomes acute before seeking help, their ills often are dealt with in emergency rooms — the most expensive point of entry into the entire medical system.

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regardless of cost. They also believe that life should be injury free and disease free. If anything goes wrong, they feel they are owed something by someone. And they sue to get it. Lawsuits drive up malpractice insurance for doctors who, unfortunately, work in an arena where nothing is guaranteed.

And then there is the role of government in all this chaos. Government watched the above scenario develop and failed to respond. Even under the best of circumstances, the political system is designed to be slow, filled as it is with a zillion checks and balances. But in recent years, that system has been ground to a halt by special interests — not surprisingly, the same interests that benefit from health-care excess. Remember the ancient proverb: "One man's outrageous cost is another man's nifty profit."

Over the years, a number of health-care reforms have surfaced, but it only took one important special interest to shoot them down. To make fundamental changes, *everyone* involved must give up something. Insurers, doctors, lawyers, hospitals, related businesses and consumers all must concede something at the same time. To bring all these diverse and historically antagonistic groups together requires leadership from an involved rather then confrontational executive branch — a commodity as rare in our state and nation as a house call.

To affect real change in the health-care system, the diverse group of providers needs to come together. In central California, where the UC-San Francisco Medical School has a large physician-training program, we are trying to create an integrated "delivery system" for health care. Both public and private entities are involved, making the challenge particularly difficult. It is a vision that enjoys broad support within the Fresno community, however. Our success depends on addressing several of the problems outlined above; namely, reducing duplication of costly structures and services, increasing our emphasis on primary care and converting to a managed-care environment.

This past January, soon after he took the oath of office as president of the United States, Bill Clinton proclaimed health-care reform one of his highest priorities. To emphasize that, he brought the task of organzing this massive effort into the White House, turning the job over to First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. Even with the Clintons' support, significant change won't come without a struggle, and the special interests already are gearing up for a long siege. For Clinton, the high cost of health care — not just *access* — is at the heart of the problem. But the two are intertwined, for high cost prevents access. The question he — and the rest of us — must answer: Do we have the political will to control the cost, thus making insurance affordable for everyone?

I believe it can be done, and done quickly if we have the will. If this is an idealistic view, so be it. After two decades of watching health care's demise at the hand of political realism, I'm ready for a change — and so is the nation.

There are good examples to guide our way. In Rochester, New York, for instance, business and community interests, led by Kodak, said "no" to the medical arms race. They also persuaded health insurers to provide coverage to everyone at roughly the same cost. The result: the highest access to medical care, and the lowest insurance rating anywhere in the United States. And this effort began *30 years ago.* It can be done.

I wish the Clintons well in their monumental effort, but I do have a few recommendations:

- Bring insurers, providers and budget experts together each year to establish a national health budget that is cost-effective and based on health outcomes.
- Implement the new health policy regionally. A regional purchasing entity that reflects national policy and priorities may then contract for care with the most cost-effective and comprehensive systems in that region.
- Return equity to insurance and insurance to its original purpose — to spread risk over the largest number of people to achieve the lowest average cost. Agree on uniform pricing that is "community based."
- "Just say no" to the medical arms race. Give someone or some entity the power to say no to that 16th MRI machine or anything else that represents duplication.
- Rewrite antitrust laws to encourage provider cooperation.
- Manage all mental and physical health care for each individual through primary care providers that are part of a comprehensive and integrated system.
- Insure that every American has health care.

Why try? Because we can. Despite our recent economic doldrums, Americans still are the most affluent people ever to live on this planet, and we must not allow our neighbors to be without basic health care simply because they can't afford it. This is a responsibility of citizenship.

"We owe it," writes Dr. Lewis Thomas in his book, "The Fragile Species." "We have an obligation to assure something more like fairness and equity in human health. We do not have a choice, unless we plan to give up being human."

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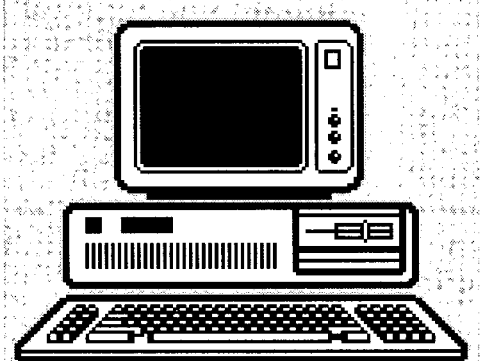

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# *Legislature*

## Bergeson nomination killed in Assembly

*Bergeson*

GOP state Senator Marian Bergeson has tasted defeat before during her 28-year political career. Just two years ago, in fact, the 68-year-old Newport Beach lawmaker lost a statewide race for lieutenant governor to Democrat Leo McCarthy. But even that setback could not have been more bitter than her rejection last month by the Assembly as Governor Pete Wilson's nominee to become superintendent of public instruction. Her chances to succeed Bill Honig were seriously damaged by opposition from Speaker Willie Brown Jr. and by the powerful Calfornia Teacher's Association. Her opponents had to muster 41 votes against confirmation to torpedo the nomination, and they made it with little to spare. The final tally was 41 opposed, 34 in favor.

Wilson appointed Bergeson after incumbent Honig was convicted on felony conflict-of-interest charges in February. On paper, she seemed ideally suited for the job. Before being elected to the Legislature in 1978, Bergeson had worked as a elementary school teacher, served 13 years on the Newport Mesa School Board and been elected president of the California School Boards Association. During her years in Sacramento, as an assemblywoman and senator, Bergeson had worked hard on education issues.

But she had two huge negatives. First, she expressed a desire to run for superintendent in 1994. And the CTA would like to see someone else gain that job; namely, Democratic Assemblywoman Delaine Eastin of Union City. Second, she is a Republican nominated by Wilson. And Brown continues to seek ways to demonstrate raw political power when it comes to Wilson. To that end, the speaker said he would never vote to confirm a nominee that he could not vote for during an election. In his mind, that eliminated every Republican. (Although the office is non-partisan, Honig was a registered Democrat.) As a result, Bergeson's nomination probably was finished the moment her name escaped from Wilson's mouth.

Despite the seemingly uphill struggle, Bergeson had the opportunity to sway allies to her cause and to present her own educational agenda. During the first of two select committee hearings, however, Bergeson seemed less than forthcoming. She did not convey a convincing outline of what she would do if confirmed. Committee members Eastin, Gwen Moore, Phil Burton and Marguerite Archie-Hudson — Democrats all — prodded Bergeson on school funding, support for teacher unions and bilingual education. At times, the questioning became both sarcastic and mean-spirited, prompting loud howls of protest from committee Republicans like Dick Mountjoy, and from the governor's office.

"It wasn't a Legislative hearing, it was a marionette show," said Dan Schnur, Wilson's director of communciations. Schnur said Brown assembled a panel of the safest Democrats possible.

Maureen DiMarco, secretary of the Office of Child Development and Education, said, "It's pretty transparent what occurred." The entire nomination process was "more about partisan politics than the qualifications of the senator," she said.

Bergeson was particularly hurt by the CTA's decision to oppose her nomination, a decision reached during the heat of the confirmation process and more than six weeks after the union first considered it. The CTA action dismayed the Wilson administration and Bergeson's legislative allies.

Del Weber, CTA president and like Bergeson an Orange County Republican, said that his organization supported Bergeson as a state senator but that she didn't fit its idea of a superintendent of public instruction. He cited her vote last year to cut school funding by almost $1 billion and her reluctance to give teachers a place at the school reform table as the primary reasons for the 17-4 board vote against her nomination. CTA officials said they reached a decision after thoroughly reviewing the senator's legislative record and after conducting a special hour-long interview with Bergeson.

CTA wasn't the only educational organization lined up against Bergeson. Also tossing grenades her way were the California Federation of Teachers, California School Employees Association and United Teachers of Los Angeles. Her allies included school board members and a representative from the San Francisco Poison Control Center. While her opponents had no trouble listing specific bills as reasons for voting against Bergeson, her supporters piled generous but very general accolades on Bergeson, the individual. As the hearings progressed, some of the attacks on Bergeson grew personal as Democrats seemed to search out reasons to justify their vote. They especially went after her age, her religion (Mormon) and interpretations of her views on bilingual education that at times made Bergeson sound like a bigot. In the end, only three Democrats defected to support her nomination — Jim Costa of Fresno, Phil Isenberg of Sacramento and Tom Umberg of Orange County.

According to Schnur, Wilson does not plan to leave the job vacant, as many Democrats suggested he do.

*— Laura A. Locke*

## Nolan, Hill first Republicans charged in 5-year FBI probe

*Nolan*

*Hill*

Pat Nolan arrived at a recent breakfast with *California Journal* editors with a bone to pick. The seven-term assemblyman from Glendale was upset about the way his '92 race had been characterized in the *Journal's* election wrap-up, especially the reference to his being targeted in a lengthy FBI corruption probe. "My wife says my tombstone is going to read 'under a cloud from an FBI sting operation,'" grumped the 43-year old Republican.

Last month, the cloud burst, and now the wording on Nolan's tombstone will be determined, in part, by the jury in a federal corruption trial. He, along with GOP Senator Frank Hill of Whittier, and former legislative aide Terry Frost, have become the latest — and last — legislators to be indicted as a direct consequence of Operation



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Brispec: an FBI corruption sting that began in 1986 and splashed into public view when federal agents raided four legislative offices — Hill's and Nolan's among them — in 1988.

"These allegations indicate the most serious kind of corruption of public office," said George O'Connell, the former U.S. attorney who headed the corruption probe. He recently left office — with all other U.S. attorneys nationwide — at the request of the new attorney general, Janet Reno.

Nolan, Assembly minority leader in 1988, is named in every count of the eight-count grand jury indictment. He's accused of having used his office as a racketeering operation, soliciting bribes on six separate bills, conspiring to extort contributions and laundering proceeds from the alleged bribes. Hill, an assemblyman in 1988 and named in five of the eight counts, is accused of conspiring with Nolan to extort contributions in return for legislative favors and laundering the proceeds of those extorted donations. Frost is named in only one count, accused of conspiracy to commit extortion.

Hill and Nolan immediately proclaimed their innocence and vowed to fight the charges in court. But Nolan's normal, exuberant self-confidence was noticeably absent when he appeared before reporters. His words, however, were defiant. "I am innocent, and the U.S. attorney knows it," said Nolan, his wife Gail at his side. "I don't have the finances to match the federal government, but I have the truth. And armed with that, I'll beard the lion in his own den."

Hill also proclaimed innocence, but in a written statement. "I take the trust my supporters and constituents place in me very seriously," said Hill, "and I would never do anything to violate that confidence."

At the heart of the case against both legislators is the infamous shrimp bill, AB 4203 from 1988, which offered a tax break to a company looking to build a shrimp processing plant in West Sacramento. Although much like hundreds of other bills which cross the desks of lawmakers every year, this one was submitted by the FBI as part of an elaborate sting designed to catch lawmakers in the act of shaking down contributors for money. This shrimp bill, and the subsequent cooperation of Senate aide John Shahabian, resulted in the conviction of Democratic ex-Senator Joseph Montoya of El Monte in 1989 on charges nearly identical to those filed against Nolan. As in the Montoya trial, the case against Nolan and Hill is expected to rest largely on covert video and audio recordings made by undercover agents. At least one of the alleged payoffs — a $2500 honorarium to Hill — was videotaped, and the feds are believed to have recorded evidence of a $10,000 payment to Nolan. Another similarity to the Montoya trial will be the presence of a "star witness" — former Nolan aide Karin Watson, who pled guilty in 1989 to a single extortion charge, admitting to shaking down an undercover agent for a $12,500 contribution. Watson, yet to be sentenced, is expected to testify about the atmosphere within the Assembly GOP caucus, led by Nolan and in which Hill was a "young man in a hurry."

Whatever those who occupy the halls of the Capitol may think in their hearts about the guilt or innocence of Nolan and Hill, one emotion that is no doubt universal is relief that the other shoe has finally dropped. In the five years since the probe exploded into the public eye, the already damaged reputation of the California Legislature has been battered further and lawmakers now find themselves dealing with voter-imposed term limits, staff cuts, and conflict-of-interest restrictions. Many consider these limitations to be an outgrowth of the FBI probe and credit them with curbing some of the more obvious transgressions.

— *Steve Scott*

# *Elections*

## Thompson, Wyman, Bustamante win specials

*Thompson*

The first round of 1993 special election run-offs was held at the end of April, and they produced a comeback, a setback, a close shave and a son-of-Bruce.

The 16th Senate District race around Bakersfield produced both the comeback and setback. The comeback is Phil Wyman, a former GOP assemblyman from Tehachapi who gave up his seat in 1992 to make an abortive run for Congress. Wyman rebounded with a 53 percent to 47 percent win over Democratic Assemblyman Jim Costa of Hanford for the 16th Senate District seat vacated last year by GOP Senator Don Rogers of Bakersfield. Rogers was spooked out of the 16th by the vagaries of the 1991 redistricting plan, which left the 16th decidedly Democratic. But that's the *new* 16th, not due for its first election until 1994. The *old* 16th, designed during the previous reapportionment, is relatively safe Republican. Rogers, however, bolted, winning election last year in the new 17th District. Hence, a special election was held to fill out the remaining two years of his term — in the old 16th.

*Wyman*

Wyman and Costa had different motives for making the race, and each can take some comfort in the outcome. Each also has some cause for nervousness. Considered washed up politically after the 1992 primary, the conservative Wyman returns to a loftier perch in the Legislature, where he held forth as a back-bencher for most of his 14-year stint in Sacramento. But his tenure this time may be brief. Two years hence, when the current 16th slides into political history, Wyman may slide with it, for registration in the new 16th overwhelmingly favors Democrats. It is said that Wyman ran this time, knowing he could not hold the seat past 1994 but to keep his options open for some other race — like in the 14th District should Senate Minority Leader Ken Maddy of Fresno decide not to run in '94, or for an Assembly seat in Bakersfield once term limits catch up with Republican Trice Harvey.

For Costa, the loss to Wyman proved something of a setback. It is said that he ran to set up his real attempt at the seat in 1994, when the 16th flips Democratic. But Costa may have wounded himself more than helped because even though Democratic registration was only 48 percent (compared with 40 percent GOP), Costa didn't do very well. In fact, he did only marginally better than the most recent Democratic candidate there — former



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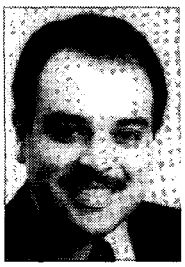
Assemblyman Ray Gonzales, who had been out of politics for 16 years before losing to Rogers in 1990.


Bustamante

Which brings us to the close shave — the other Senate runoff in the sliver of coastal California from Marin County to the Oregon border known as the 2nd District. It was here, in a 56 percent Democratic district, that another Democrat stumbled a bit. The 2nd District race was made necessary when Democrat Barry Keene abruptly resigned late last year with two years left on his term.

The two antagonists were Democratic state Senator Mike Thompson of St. Helena and Republican Margie Handley of Willits, a former George Deukmejian-appointed member of the state Transportation Commission. When the polls closed, Thompson — who has two years to serve representing the 4th District — held a 671-vote lead over Handley. A number of absentee ballots were yet to be counted, but when they had been tallied, Thompson's lead had increased slightly and he was declared the winner.

Thompson's decision to run in the 2nd was akin to Don Rogers' decision to abandon the 16th: Thompson's 4th District becomes marginal for a Democrat in 1994. Not only that, Thompson's St. Helena home will lie in the new 2nd District. To position himself for the new district, Thompson ran now in the old district. As a Democratic incumbent in Democratic territory, he'd hoped to win outright in the primary. But he fell short of the 50 percent needed to avoid a runoff. Handley, meanwhile, had challenged Keene in 1990, losing 54 percent to 46 percent. Thompson campaign consultant Paul Kinney said that Thompson was outspent two-to-one. Handley's people said that the former general contactor spent about the same amount as Thompson. Either way, the race was expensive.

Meanwhile, candidates already are positioning themselves to replace Thompson the 4th District. Two have announced: community college trustee Mike Boeger of Gridley, a Democrat; and Shasta Coounty Supervisor Maurice Johannessen of Redding, a Republican. Democrat Bill Brashears, a former Chico councilman who lost to GOP Assemblyman Stan Statham last fall, also is a possible contender. And then there's former GOP Assemblywoman Bev Hansen, who represented Sonoma and Napa counties until she retired last year when reapportionment handed her a bad district. Hansen has been working for a firm that does project development for environmental technology.

Finally, the son-of-Bruce is Democrat Cruz Bustamante of Fresno, who captured the 31st Assembly District vacated this past January by his old boss — Assemblyman Bruce Bronzan of Fresno, who left the Legislature to become associate dean of the UC-San Francisco School of Medicine. The district is 63 percent Democratic (Bronzan ran unopposed in '92) and filled with Latinos, which made Bustamante a shoo-in.

— *Danielle Starkey*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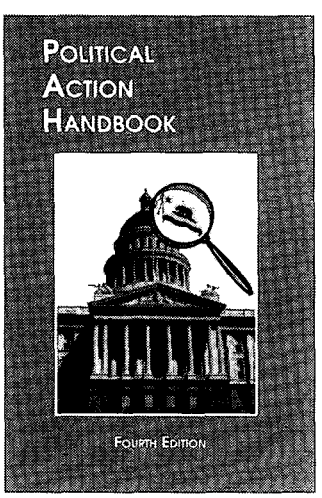





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# Washington PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

## Dick and Jane go to Washington

They were supposed to shake things up at the Capitol. A public fed up with congressional perks and gridlock sent 110 new members to the House this year to put an end to business as usual. Or so thought the voters — and at least some of the freshmen. So far, it's been a year of less than revolutionary successes for the likes of California's Jane Harman and Richard Pombo. Yet Democrat Harman and Republican Pombo are gaining reputations as two new members to watch.

"I WAS CAREFUL TO CALL MYSELF A REFORMER, not an outsider, because I did have experience inside," said Harman, recalling a subtle distinction that she made in her successful campaign for Congress last November. In an upset, Harman beat anti-abortion Los Angeles City Councilwoman Joan Milke Flores in a newly created district in Los Angeles' South Bay that was supposed to end up in Republican hands.

Harman ran and won on a "pro-choice, pro-change" theme, but it was clear from the start that she lacked the makings of a bomb-thrower. A Harvard Law graduate, she served in the 1970s as a top aide to California's Democratic Senator John Tunney and then in the Carter administration. She worked as a corporate attorney and is married to the founder of Harman International, the audio and video manufacturer.

In Washington, she moved quickly to send the right signals "on the micro level," as she puts it, by conspicuously spurning the most recent congressional pay raise and every other perk she could think of. Some less-than-generous souls have noted that this was no great sacrifice for one of Congress' multimillionaires, but Harman said, "It's an important symbol."

On the macro level, she has supported President Clinton and the House leadership, but with some well-chosen conditions. She voted for the president's budget package but also for $63 billion in additional cuts. She backed an effort to cut Congress' own budget by 25 percent over five years. And she has signed on to a bipartisan proposal to channel all of the new revenues produced by Clinton's taxes into a trust fund dedicated solely to reducing the federal deficit, forcing him to find cuts somewhere else to pay for his proposals for new and expanded federal spending.

Harman quit a post as co-chairman of a task force that was created by Democratic freshmen to demand reforms in House rules. Saying that the effort was simply too time-consuming, an aide denied speculation that Harman gave up the post for fear she would offend the powers-that-be. But Harman acknowledged that she faces a delicate juggling act if she is to get ahead — and get results.

"There is an inside game and an outside game, and you have to understand both games to be effective, and I hope I do," she said. "I need to be on the right committees, and I need to be in the strategy meetings ... but I also need to have enough objectivity and courage so that if that is not happening, I can, at risk of personal unpopularity, stand up and say, 'You're not doing the right thing.'"

So far, she has been impressing her congressional superiors, and they have been granting her the assignments and access that can help her hang onto her precarious seat. Harman was put on the Science and Technology and Armed Services committees, two perfect places to press for the high-tech development and defense conversion efforts that are desperately sought by her district, with its battered aerospace industries.

But can she help turn that around in the 18 months remaining before she faces what could be a tough re-election campaign? "It's the time frame for this job," she said. "Those were the terms and conditions when I took it." At the very least, she said, "From the feedback I'm getting, people know I'm trying as hard as I can to turn this economy around. I'm using every lever I can find in this place to focus on retraining and converting to high-tech jobs."

Like Harman, Pombo won in a district that was "supposed" to go to the other party. Unlike Harman, Pombo is a genuine novice, having come to Congress with no government experience accept a brief stint on the Tracy City Council. "The learning curve is definitely pretty steep coming in here," Pombo said with winning candor, "going from setting garbage and water rates to worrying about Bosnia and some of those things. It's an awesome responsibility."

With a slight tone of wonderment at his new role in the big leagues, the congressman in cowboy boots recounted that several of his constituents urged him to help press Romania to free the orphaned and abandoned children it warehouses in grim institutions. Pombo found himself discussing the issue for half an hour with President Ion Ilescu during the Romanian's recent visit to Washington.

A fourth-generation Californian of Portuguese ancestry, Pombo is an anti-abortion conservative who upset Sacramento County Supervisor Sandra Smoley — a moderate favorite of Governor Pete Wilson — and went on to defeat perennial loser Patti Garamendi, wife of the equally ambitious but somewhat more successful state insurance commissioner. A rancher and farmer, Pombo seems a good fit for the new district that was created in the booming San Joaquin Valley, although he can't take anything for granted in a district that is 51 percent Democratic and 38 percent Republican.

POMBO WAS MADE A MEMBER OF THE Agriculture and Natural Resources committees. With private property rights as his mantra, Pombo is pushing legislation to require that government pay property owners whenever it places restrictions on their property. And he is demanding loosening of the Endangered Species Act, which threatens tough restrictions in his district to protect creatures such as the Delta smelt.

The House's conservative Republicans seem to have recognized a kindred spirit. When Pombo got the party's caucus to approve a thoroughly predictable resolution against tax increases, firebrand House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia called Pombo's local newspapers to rave about his performance. "He persuasively and effectively made the point that you can't be for higher taxes until you can honestly say you've eliminated all wasteful spending," Gingrich exulted.



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